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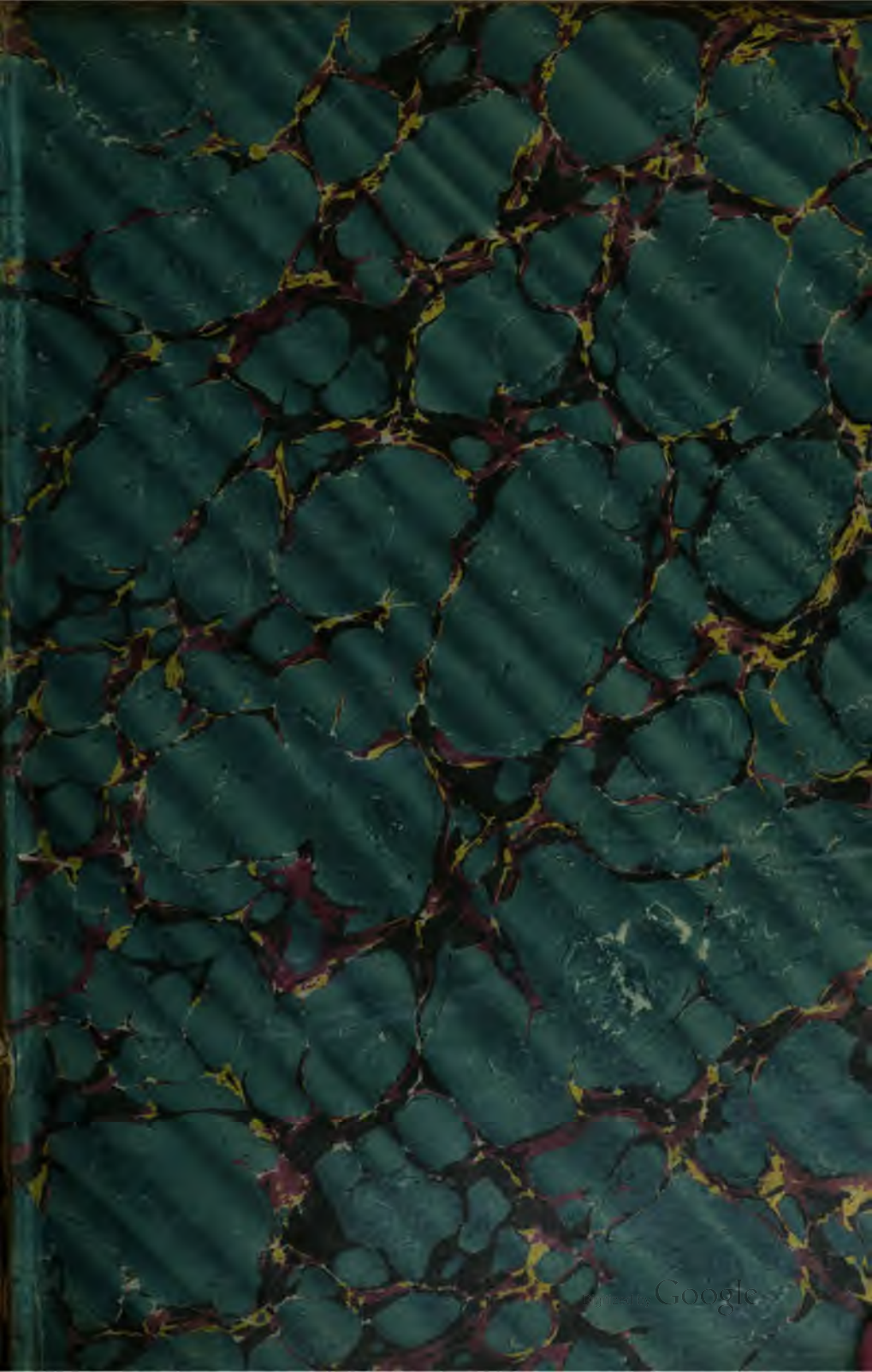
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THE REVOLUTION
IN 1688.

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HISTORY
OF
THE REVOLUTION
IN ENGLAND
IN 1688.

COMPRISING

A VIEW OF THE REIGN OF JAMES II.

FROM HIS ACCESSION, TO THE ENTERPRISE OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE,

BY THE LATE

RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH;

AND COMPLETED, TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CROWN.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

**A NOTICE OF THE LIFE, WRITINGS, AND SPEECHES OF,
SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH.**

VOL. II.

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1834.

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WHEN the changes in the secret councils of the King had rendered them most irreconcilable to the national sentiments, and when the general discontent produced by progressive encroachment had quietly grown into disaffection, nothing was wanting to the least unfortunate result of such an alienation, but that an infatuated government should exhibit to the public thus disposed one of those tragic spectacles of justice violated, of religion menaced, of innocence oppressed, of unarmed dignity outraged, with all the conspicuous solemnities of abused law, in the persons of men of exalted rank and venerated functions, who encounter wrongs and indignities with mild intrepidity. Such scenes, performed before a whole nation, revealed to each man the hidden thoughts of his fellow citizens; add the warmth of personal feeling to the strength of public principle, animated patriotism by the pity and indignation which the sufferings of good men call forth, and warm every heart

by the reflection of the same passions from the hearts of thousands; until at length the enthusiasm of a nation, springing up in the bosoms of the generous and brave, breathed a momentary spirit into the most vulgar souls, and drags into its service the herd of the selfish, the cold, the mean, and the cowardly. The combustibles were accumulated; a spark was only wanting to kindle the flame. Accidents, in themselves trivial, seem on this occasion, as in other times and countries, to have filled up the measure of provocation. In such a government as that of James, formed of adverse parties, more intent on weakening or supplanting each other than on securing the common foundation; every measure was too much estimated by its bearing on these unavowed objects, to allow a calm consideration of its effect on the interest or even on the temper of the public. On the 27th of April, the King republished his declaration of the former year for liberty of conscience: "a measure apparently insignificant;"^a which was probably proposed by Sunderland, to indulge his master in a harmless show of firmness, which might divert him from rasher councils.^c To this declaration a supplement was annexed, declaring, that the King was confirmed in his purpose by the numerous addresses which assured him of the national concurrence; that he had removed all civil and military officers who had refused to co-operate with him; and that he trusted that the people would do their part, by the choice of fit members to serve in parliament, which he was resolved to assemble in November "at farthest." This last, and only important part of the proclamation, was promoted by the contending parties in the cabinet with opposite intentions. The moderate Catholics, and Penn, whose fault was only an unseasonable zeal for a noble principle, desired a parliament from a hope, that if the convocation were not too long delayed, it might produce a compromise, in which the King might for the time be contented with an universal toleration of worship. The Jesuitical party desired a parliament also: but it was because they hoped that it would produce a final rupture, and a recurrence to those more vigorous means which the age of the King now required, and of which the expected birth of a Prince of

^a London Gazette, 26th (30th) April, 1688.

^b "The declaration, so long spoken of, is published. As nothing is said more than last year, politicians cannot understand the reason of so ill-timed a measure." Van Citters, 1 (11) May. (Secret Dispatch.)

^c Barillon, 25 April (6 May).

Wales would warrant the safety." Sunderland acquiesced in the insertion of this pledge, because he hoped to keep the violent in check by the fear of the parliament, and partly, also, because he by no means had determined to redeem the pledge. "This language is held," said he to Barillon (who was alarmed at the sound of a parliament), "rather to show, that parliament will not meet for six months, than that it will be then assembled, which must depend on the public temper at that time."^a For so far, it seems, did this ingenious statesman carry his system of liberal interpretation, as to employ words in the directly opposite sense to that in which they were understood, and to say that November should be the latest time for the meeting of parliament, when he meant that it should be the earliest. So jarring were the motives from which this Declaration proceeded, and so opposite the constructions of which its authors represented it to be capable. Had no other step, however, been taken but the publication, it is not probable that it would have been attended by serious consequences. But in a week after, an order was made by the King in council, commanding the Declaration to be read at the usual time of divine service, in all the churches in London on the 20th and 27th of May, and in all those in the country on the 3rd and 10th of June.^c Who was the adviser of this order, which has acquired such importance from its immediate effects, has not yet been ascertained. It was publicly disclaimed by Sunderland,^d but at a time which would have left no value to his declaration, but what it might derive from being uncontradicted, and agreeable to the general tenor of his policy. It now appears, however, that he and other counsellors disavowed it at the time; and they seem to have been believed by keen and watchful observers.^e Though it was then rumoured that Petre had also disavowed this fatal advice, the concurrent testimony of all contemporary historians ascribe it to him, and it accords well with the policy of that party, which received in some degree from his ascendent over them the unpopular appellation of Jesuits. It must be owned, indeed, that it is one of the numerous cases in which the evil effects of an impru-

^a Burnet, iii. 211.

^b Barillon, 3 (13) May.

^c Order issued 4th May, 1688. *Load. Gaz.* 3d—7th May, 1688.

^d Letter from the Hague, 28th Mar. 1689.

^e Johnstone, 23d May, 1688. Sunderland, Melfort, Penn, and, *they say*, Petre, deny having advised this Declaration; but Van Citters, 4 June (25 May), says that Petre is believed to have advised the order.

dent measure proved far greater than any foresight could have apprehended. There was considerable reason for expecting submission from the Church. The clergy had very recently obeyed a similar order in two obnoxious instances. In compliance with an order made in council by Charles II., officiously suggested to him, it is said, by Sancroft himself,^a they read from their pulpits that prince's apology for the dissolution of his two last parliaments; severally arraigning various parliamentary proceedings, amongst which was a resolution of the house of Commons against the persecution of the Protestant Dissenters.^b The compliance of the clergy on this occasion was cheerful, though they gave offence by it to many of the people.^c Now, this seemed to be an open interference of the ecclesiastical order in the fiercest contests of political parties, which the duty of undistinguishing obedience alone could warrant.^d The same principle appeared still more necessary to justify their reading the declaration of Charles on the Rye House Plot,^e published within a week of the death of Lord Russell, where it was indecent for the ministers of religion to promulgate their approval of bloodshed, and unjust to inflame prejudice against those who remained to be tried. This declaration was immediately preceded by the famous decree of the university of Oxford, and followed by a persecution of Nonconformists, on whom it reflected as the authors of the supposed conspiracy.^f These examples of compliance appeared to be grounded on the undefined authority claimed by the King, as supreme ordinary, on judicial determinations, which recognised his right in that character to make ordinaries for the outward rule of the church,^g and by the Rubric of the Book of Common Prayer (declared, by the Act of Uniformity,^h to be part of that statute), which directs, "that nothing shall be published in Church by the minister, but what is prescribed by this book, or enjoined by the King." These reasonings

^a Burnet, iii. 212.

^b London Gazette, 7th (11th) April, 1681.

^c Kennett, iii. 388. Echard, iii. 625.

^d It was accompanied by a letter from the King to Sancroft, which seems to imply a previous usage in such cases. "Our will is, that you give such directions as have been usual in such cases for the reading of our said Declaration." Kennett, iii. 388. Note from Lambeth MSS. D'Oyley's Sancroft, i. 253. "Now," says Ralph, "the cry of Church and King was echoed from one side of the kingdom to the other." Ralph, i. 590. Immediately after began the periodical libels of L'Estrange, and the invectives against parliament, under the form of loyal addresses.

^e Lond. Gaz. 2d—6th August, 1683. Kennett, iii. 408. Echard, iii. 669.

^f This fact is reluctantly admitted by Roger North. Examina. 396.

^g Cro. Jac. 37. Moor. 735.

^h 14 Car. II. chap. 4.

and examples were at least sufficient to excuse the confidence with which some of the royal advisers anticipated the obedience either of the whole church, or of so large a majority as to make it safe and easy to punish the disobedient. A variation from the precedents of a seemingly slight and formal nature seems to have had some effect on the success of the measure. The bishops were now, for the first time, commanded by the order published in the Gazette to distribute the declaration in their dioceses, in order to be read by the clergy. Whether the insertion of this unusual clause was casual, or intended to humble the bishops, it is now difficult to conjecture. It was naturally received and represented in the most offensive sense.^a It fixed the eyes of the whole nation on the prelates. It rendered the conduct of their clergy visibly dependent solely on their determination, and thus concentrated, on a small number, the dishonour of submission which would have been lost by dispersion among the whole body. So strongly did the belief that insult was intended prevail, that Petre, to whom it was chiefly ascribed, was said to have declared it in the gross and contemptuous language used of old, by a barbarous invader, to the deputies of a besieged city.^b But though the menace be imputed to him by most of his contemporaries,^c yet, as they were all his enemies, and as no ear-witness is quoted, we must be content to be doubtful whether he uttered the offensive words, or was only so generally imprudent as to make it easily believed that they were spoken by him. The first effect of this order was to place the prelates who were then in the capital or the neighbourhood in a situation of no small perplexity. They were not forewarned of the blow by the Declaration. They must have been still more taken by surprise than the moderate ministers, and, in that age of slow conveyance and rare publication, they were allowed only sixteen days from the order, and thirteen from its official publication,^d to ascertain the sentiments of their brethren and of their clergy, without

^a Van Citters, 15th (25th) May. One of the objections was, that the order was not transmitted in the usual and less ostentatious manner, through the Primate, as in 1681.

^b "That they should eat their own dung," the words of Rabshekah, the Assyrian general, to the officers of Hezekiah, king of Judah. 2 Kings, xviii.

^c Burnet, Kennett, Echard, Oldmixon, Ralph; and the earliest printed statement of this threat is probably in a pamphlet, called, "An Answer from a Country Clergyman to the Letter of his Brother in the City" (Dr. Sherlock), which must have been published in June, 1688. Baldwin's Farther State Tracts, 314. Lond. 1692.

^d London Gaz., published on 7th April.

the knowledge of which their determination, whatever it was, might promote that division which it was one of the main objects of their enemies, by this measure, to excite. Resistance could be formidable only if it were general. It is one of the severest tests of human sagacity to call for instantaneous judgment from a few leaders when they have not support enough to be assured of the majority of their adherents; and had the bishops taken a single step without concert, they would have been assailed by charges of a pretension to dictatorship, equally likely to provoke the proud to desertion, and to furnish the cowardly with a pretext for it. Their difficulties were increased by the character of the most distinguished layman whom it was fit to consult. Rochester was no longer trusted. Clarendon was zealous, but of small judgment. Both Nottingham, the chief of their party, and Halifax, with whom they were now compelled to coalesce, hesitated at the moment of decision.^a The first body whose judgment was to be ascertained was the clergy of London, among whom were, at that time, the lights and ornaments of the Church. They at first ventured only to converse and correspond privately with each other.^b A meeting became necessary, and was hazarded. A diversity of opinions prevailed. It was urged on one side that a refusal was inconsistent with the professions and practice of the Church; that it would provoke the King to desperate extremities, expose the country to civil confusions, and be represented to the Dissenters as a proof of the incorrigible intolerance of the establishment: that the reading of a proclamation implied no assent to its contents, and that it would be presumption in the clergy to pronounce a judgment against the legality of the dispensing power, which the competent tribunal had already adjudged to be lawful. Those of better spirit answered, or might have answered, that the danger of former examples of obsequiousness was now so visible that they were to be considered as warnings rather than precedents; that compliance would bring on them command after command, till at last another religion was established; that the reading, unnecessary for the purpose of publication, would be understood as an approval of the Declaration by the contrivers of the order, and by the body of the people; that the parliamentary

^a "Halifax and Nottingham wavered at first, which had almost ruined the business." Johnstone, 27th May.

^b Van Citters, 18 (26) May. (Secret Despatch.)

condemnations of the dispensing power were a sufficient reason to excuse them from a doubtful and hazardous act ; that neither conscience nor the more worldly principle of honour would suffer them to dig the grave of the Protestant church, and to desert the cause of the nobility, the gentry, and the whole nation. Finally, that in the most unfavourable event, it was better to fall then under the King's displeasure, but supported by the consolation of having fearlessly performed their duty, than to fall a little later, unpitied and despised, amidst the curses of the people whom they had ruined by their compliance. From such a fall they would rise no more.^a One of those middle courses was suggested which is very apt to captivate a perplexed assembly. It was proposed to gain time, and smooth a way to compromise, by entreating the King to revert to the ancient methods of communicating his commands to the Church. The majority appeared at first to lean towards submission or evasion, which was only disguised and deferred submission. Happily, a decisive answer was produced to the most plausible argument of the compliant party. Some of the chief ministers and laymen among the Nonconformists earnestly besought the clergy not to judge them by a handful of their number who had been gained by the Court; but to be assured that, instead of being alienated from the Church, they would be drawn closer to her, by her making a stand for religion and liberty.^b A clergyman present read a note of these generous declarations, which he was authorised by the Nonconformists to exhibit to the meeting. The independent portion of the clergy made up, by zeal and activity, for their inferiority in numbers. Fatal concession, however, seemed to be at hand, when the spirit of an individual, manifested at a critical moment, contributed to rescue his order from disgrace, and his country from slavery. This person, whose fortunate virtue has hitherto remained unknown, was Dr. Edward Fowler, then incumbent of a parish in London, who, originally bred a dissenter, had been slow to conform at the Restoration, was accused of the crime of whiggism^c at so dangerous a period as that of Monmouth's riot; and, having been promoted to the see of Gloucester, combined so much charity with his unsuspected orthodoxy as to receive the last breath of Firmin, the most celebrated Unitarian of that

^a Sherlock's "Letter from a Gentleman in the City to a Friend in the Country." Baldwin's Farther State Tracts, 309.

^b Johnstone, 18th May.

^c Athen. Oxon., ii. 1079.

period.^a When he perceived that the courage of his brethren faltered, he addressed them shortly: "I must be plain. There has been argument enough. More only will heat us. Let every man now say Yea or Nay. I shall be sorry to give occasion to schism, but I cannot in conscience read the Declaration; for that reading would be an exhortation to my people to obey commands which I deem unlawful." Stillingfleet declared, on the authority of lawyers, that reading the Declaration would be an offence, as the publication of an unlawful document. He excused himself from being the first subscriber to an agreement not to comply, on the ground that he was already proscribed for the prominent part which he had taken in the controversy against the Romanists. Patrick offered to be the first, if any man would second him, and Fowler answered to the appeal which his own generosity had called forth.^b They were supported by Tillotson, though only recovering from an attack of apoplexy, and by Sherlock, who then atoned for the slavish doctrines of former times. The opposite party were subdued by this firmness, and declared that they would not divide the Church.^c The sentiments of more than fourscore of the London clergy^d were made known to the metropolitan; and a meeting at Lambeth, on Saturday, the 12th of May, where there were present, besides Sancroft himself, only the Earl of Clarendon, three bishops, Compton, Turner, and White, together with Tennyson, it was resolved not to read the Declaration; to petition the King that he would dispense with that act of obedience, and to entreat all the prelates within reach of London, to repair thither to the aid of their brethren.^e It was fit to wait a short time for the concurrence of these absent bishops. Lloyd of St. Asaph, late of Chichester, Kenn of Bath and Wells, and Trelawney, quickly complied with the summons; and were present at another and more decisive meeting at the archiepiscopal palace on Friday, the eighteenth of the same month, where, with the assent of Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Tennyson, Grove, and Sherlock, it was resolved, that a petition, prepared and written by Sancroft, should be forthwith presented to His Majesty. It is a calumny against the memory of these prelates to assert, that they postponed their de-

^a Birch, Life of Tillotson, 320.

^b Kennett, iii. 570, note. This narrative reconciles Johnstone, Van Citters, and Kennett.

^c Johnstone, 23d May.

^d This victory was early communicated to the Dutch ambassador. Van Citt. 15 (25) May.

^e Clarendon. Diary, 18th May.

termination till within two days of the Sunday appointed for reading the Declaration, in order to deprive the King of time to retire from his purpose with dignity or decency; for we have seen that the period since the publication of the order was fully occupied by measures for concert and co-operation, and it would have been treachery to the Church and the kingdom to have sacrificed any portion of time so employed for the relief of their most formidable enemy.* The petition, after setting forth, that "their averseness to read the King's Declaration arose neither from want of the duty and obedience which the Church of England had always practised, nor from want of tenderness to Dissenters, to whom they were willing to come to such a temper as might be thought fit in parliament and convocation, but because it is founded in a dispensing power declared illegal in parliament; and that they could not in prudence or conscience make themselves so far parties to it as the publication of it in the Church at the time of divine service must amount to in common and reasonable construction," concludes, by "humbly and earnestly beseeching his Majesty not to insist on their distributing and reading the said Declaration." It is easy to observe the skill with which the petition distinguished the case from the two recent examples of submission, in which the royal declarations, however objectionable, contained no matter of questionable legality. Compton, being suspended, did not subscribe the petition; Sancroft, having had the honour to be forbidden the Court nearly two years, took no part in presenting it. It was not thought proper that the private divines, who were the most distinguished members of the meeting, should attend the presentation. That there might be no needless delay, six bishops proceeded to Whitehall about ten o'clock in the evening,—no unusual hour of audience at the accessible courts of Charles and James. They were remarked, as they came from the landing-place, by the watchful eyes of the Dutch

* Life of James II., ii. 158. But this is the statement, not of the King, but of Mr. Dicconson the compiler, who might have been misled by the angry traditions of his exiled friends. A week is added to the delay, by referring the commencement of it to the Declaration of the 27th of April, instead of the order of the 4th of May, which alone called on the bishops to deliberate. The same suppression is practised, and the same calumny insinuated, in "An Answer to the Bishops' Petition," published at the time. Somers' Tracts, ix. 119. In the extract made, either by Carte or Macpherson, an insinuation against the bishops is substituted for the bold charge made by Dicconson. "The bishops' petition on the 18th of May, against what they are to read on the 20th." (Macph. Original Papers, i. 157.) But as throughout that inaccurate publication no distinction is made between what was written by James and what was added by his biographer, the disgrace of the calumnious insinuation is unjustly thrown on the King's memory.

ambassador,^a who was not uninformed of their errand. They stopped at the house of Lord Dartmouth, till Lloyd of St. Asaph, the boldest of their number, should ascertain when and where the King would receive them. He requested Lord Sunderland to read the petition, and to acquaint the King with its contents, that his Majesty might not be surprised at it. The wary minister declined, but informed the King of the attendance of the bishops, who were introduced into the bedchamber.^b When they had knelt down before the monarch, St. Asaph presented the petition, purporting to be that "of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with divers suffragan bishops of his province, in behalf of themselves and several of their absent brethren, and of the clergy of their respective dioceses." The King, having been told by the bishop of Chester, that they would desire no more than a recurrence to the former practice of sending declarations to chancellors and archdeacons,^c desired them to rise, received them at first graciously, and on opening the petition, said, "This is my Lord of Canterbury's handwriting;" but when he read it over, and after he had folded it up, he spoke to them in another tone.^d "This is a great surprise to me. Here are strange words. I did not expect this from you. This is a standard of rebellion." St. Asaph replied, "We have adventured our lives for your Majesty, and would lose the last drop of our blood rather than lift up a finger against you." The King.—"I tell you this is a standard of rebellion. I never saw such an address." Trelawney of Bristol, falling again on his knees, said, "Rebellion, Sir! I beseech your Majesty not to say any thing so hard of us. For God's sake, do not believe we are or can be guilty of rebellion." It deserves remark, that the two who uttered these loud and vehement protestations were the only prelates present who were conscious of having harboured projects of more decisive resistance. The Bishops of Chichester and Ely made professions of unshaken loyalty, which they afterwards exemplified. The Bishop of Bath and Wells pathetically and justly said, "Sir, I hope

^a Van Citters, 18 (28) May.

^b Original Narrative in *Saner. MSS.*, published by Gutch, *Collect. Curiae*. i. 235. *1 Hen. E. of Clar. State Papers*, 287, and *D'Oyley's Saneroff*, i. 262.

^c Burnet, iii. 216.

^d "S. M. rispose loro con ardenza." D'Adda, 20 (30) May; or, as the same circumstance was viewed by another through a different medium,—"The King answered very disdainfully, and with the utmost anger." Van. Oitt. 22 May (1 June). The mild Evelyn says, "the King was so incensed, that, with threatening language, he commanded them to obey at their peril." *Diary*, 18th May.

you will give that liberty to us, which you allow to all mankind." He piously added, "We will honour the King, but fear God." James answered at various times, "It tends to rebellion. Is this what I have deserved from the Church of England? I will remember you who have signed this paper. I will keep this paper. I will not part with it. I did not expect this from you, especially from some of you. I will be obeyed." Ken, in the spirit of a martyr, answered only with a humble voice, "God's will be done." The angry monarch called out, "What's that?" The Bishop, and one of his brethren, repeated what had been said. James dismissed them with the same unseemly, unprovoked, and incoherent language. "If I think fit to alter my mind, I will send to you. God has given me this dispensing power, and I will maintain it. I tell you, there are seven thousand men, and of the Church of England too, that have not bowed the knee to Baal." Next morning, when on his way to chapel, he said to the Bishop of St. David's, "My Lord, your brethren presented to me, yesterday, the most seditious paper that ever was penned. It is a trumpet of rebellion." He frequently repeated what Lord Halifax said to him. "Your father suffered for the Church, not the Church for him." The petition was printed and circulated in the night, certainly not by the bishops, who delivered to the King their only copy, written in the hand of Sancroft, for the express purpose of preventing publication; probably, therefore, by some attendant of the Court, for lucre or from disaffection. In a few days, six bishops^b declared their concurrence in the petition; and the Bishop of Carlisle agreed to its contents, lamenting that he could not subscribe it, because his diocese was not in the province of Canterbury.^c Two other bishops agreed to the measure of not reading.^d The archbishopric of York had now been kept vacant for Petre more than two years. The vacancy which delivered the diocese of Oxford from Parker had not yet been filled up. Lloyd of Bangor, who died a few months afterwards, was probably prevented by age and infirmities from taking any part in this transaction. The see of Litchfield, though not vacant, was deserted by Wood, who, having been appointed by the Duchess of Cleveland, in consequence of his bestowing his niece, a rich heiress,

^a Van Citters, 22 May (1 June).

^b London, Norwich, Gloucester, Salisbury, Winchester, and Exeter. D'Oyley's *Sancroft*, i. 269.

^c Gutch, i. 334.

^d Llandaff and Worcester. Gutch, i. 331.

to whom he was guardian, on one of her sons,^a openly and perpetually abandoned his diocese; for which he was suspended by Sancroft, and restored on submission; but continued to reside at Hackney, without professing to discharge any duty, till his death. Sprat, who would have honoured the episcopal dignity by his talents, if he had not earned it by a prostitution of them;^b Cartwright, who had already approved himself the ready instrument of lawless power against his brethren; Crew, whose servility was rendered more conspicuously disgraceful by birth and wealth; Watson, who, after a long train of offences, was at length deprived of his see; together with Croft, in extreme old age; and Barlow, who had fallen into second childhood; were, since the death of Parker, the only faithless members of an episcopal body, which in its then incomplete state amounted to twenty-two. On Sunday, the 20th of May, the first day appointed for reading the Declaration in London, the order was generally disobeyed; though the administration of the diocese during the suspension of the bishop was placed in the perfidious hands of Sprat and Crew. Out of a hundred, the supposed number of the London clergy at that time, seven were the utmost who are, by the largest account, charged with submission. Sprat himself chose to officiate as dean in Westminster Abbey; where, as soon as he gave orders for reading the Declaration, so great a murmur arose that nobody could hear it; but, before it was finished, no one was left in the church but a few prebendaries, the choristers, and the Westminster scholars. He, himself, could hardly hold the proclamation in his hands for trembling.^c Even in the chapel at Whitehall, it was read by a chorister.^d At Serjeant's Inn, the Chief Justice desiring that it should be read, the clerk said that he had forgotten it.^e The names of four complying clergymen only are preserved,—Elliott, Martin, Thomson, and Hall; who, obscure as they were, may be enumerated as specimens of so rare a vice as the sinister courage which, for base ends, can brave the most generous feelings of all the spectators of their conduct. The

^a Kennett, in Lansdown MSS. in the British Museum. D'Oyley's Sancroft, i. 193.

^b Narrative of the Rye House Plot.

^c *La lettura non se essequi che in pochissimi luoghi.* D'Adda, 20 (30) May. Clarendon states the number to be four; Kennett and Burnet, seven. Perhaps the smaller number refers to parochial clergy, and the larger to those of every denomination.

^d Burnet, iii. 218, note by Lord Dartmouth, then present as a Westminster scholar.

^e Evelyn, 20th May.

^f Van Citters.

temptation on this occasion seems to have been the bishopric of Oxford; in the pursuit of which, Hall, who had been engaged in negotiations with the Duchess of Portsmouth for the purchase of Hampden's pardon,* by such connexions and services prevailed over his competitors. On the following Sunday the disobedience was equally general; and the new reader at the Chapel Royal was so agitated as to be unable to read the Declaration audibly.^b In general, the clergy of the country displayed the same spirit. In the dioceses of the faithful bishops, the example of the diocesan was almost universally followed; in that of Norwich, which contains twelve hundred parishes, the Declaration was not read by more than three or four.^c In Durham, on the other side, Crew found so great a number of his poor clergy more independent than a vast revenue could render himself, that he suspended many for disobedience. The other deserters were disobeyed by nineteen twentieths of their clergy; and not more than two hundred in all are said to have complied out of a body of ten thousand.^d "The whole Church," says the nuncio, "espouses the cause of the bishops. There is no reasonable expectation of a division among the Anglicans, and our hopes from the Nonconformists are vanished."^e Well, indeed, might he despair of the dissenters, since, on the 20th of May, the venerable Baxter, above sectarian interests and unmindful of ancient wrongs, from his tolerated pulpit extolled the bishops for their resistance to the very Declaration to which he now owed the liberty of commending them.^f It was no wonder that such an appearance of determined resistance should discontent the Government. No prospect now remained of seducing some Protestants, of punishing some others, and by this double example of gaining the greater part of the rest. The King, after so many previous acts of violence, seemed to be reduced to the alternative of either surrendering to exasperated antagonists, or engaging in a mortal combat with all his Protestant subjects. In the most united and vigorous government, the choice would have been among the most difficult which human wisdom is required to make. In the distracted councils of James, where secret advisers thwarted responsible ministers, and fear began to disturb the judgment of some, while anger inflamed the minds of others, a still greater fluctuation

* Lords' Journals, 19th Dec. 1689.

• Life of Prideaux, 41. in D'Oyl. Sanc. i. 270.

• Van Citt. 15 (25) June. Ralp. ii. 1.

• D'Adda, 1 (11) June.

• Van Citters.

• Johnst. 23d May.

and contradiction prevailed, than would have naturally arisen from the great difficulty of the situation. Pride impelled the King to advance, caution counselled him to retreat. Calm reason, even at this day, discovers nearly equal dangers in either movement. It is one of the most unfortunate circumstances in human affairs, that the most important questions of practice either perplex the mind so much by their difficulty, as to be always really decided by temper, or excite passions too strong for such an undisturbed exercise of the understanding as alone affords a probability of right judgment. The nearer approach of perils, both political and personal, rendered the counsels of Sunderland more decisively moderate;* in which he was supported by the Catholic lords in office, conformably to their uniform principles;† and by Jeffreys, who, since he had gained the prize of ambition, began more and more to think of safety.‡ It appears, also, that those who recoiled from an irreparable breach with the Church, the nation, and the Protestants of the royal family, were now not unwilling that their moderation should be known. Jeffreys spoke to Lord Clarendon of “moderate counsels;” declared, that “some men would drive the King to distraction;” and made professions of “service to the bishops,” which he went so far as to desire that nobleman to communicate to them. William Penn, on a visit, after a very long interval, to that lord, betrayed an inquietude, which sometimes prompts men almost instinctively to acquire or renew friendships.‡ Sunderland disclosed the nature and grounds of his own counsels, very fully, both to the nuncio and to the French ambassador.¶ “The great question,” he said, “was how the punishment of the bishops would affect the probability of accomplishing the King’s purpose through a parliament. Now, it was not to be expected, that any adequate penalty could be inflicted on them in the ordinary course of law. Recourse must be had to the ecclesiastic commission, which was already sufficiently obnoxious. Any legal proceeding would be long enough, in the present temper of men, to agitate all England. The suspension or deprivation by the ecclesiastical commissioners, which might not exclude the bishops from

* D’Adda, 24 May (3 June). Barillon, 24 May (3 June).

† “Lord Powis, Arundel, Dover, and Bellasis, are very zealous for moderation.” Van Citters, 1 (11) June.

‡ Clarend. Diary, 14th and 27th June, 5th July, 13th August.

¶ Clarendon, 21st May. “The first time I had seen him for a long time. He professed great kindness.” Despatches last cited.

their parliamentary seats, would, in a case of so extensive delinquency, raise such a fear and cry of arbitrary power, as to render all prospect of a parliament desperate, and to drive the King to a reliance on arms alone; a fearful resolution, not to be entertained without fuller assurance that the army was and would remain untainted." He therefore advised, that "his Majesty should content himself with publishing a declaration, expressing his high and just resentment at the hardihood of the bishops, in disobeying the supreme head of their Church, and disputing a royal prerogative recently recognised by all the Judges of England; but that, in consideration of the fidelity of the Church of England in past times, from which these prelates had been the first to depart, his Majesty was desirous of treating their offence with clemency, and would refer their conduct to the consideration of the next Parliament, in the hope that their intermediate conduct might warrant entire forgiveness." It was said, on the other hand, "that the safety of the government depended on an immediate blow; that the impunity of such audacious contumacy would embolden every enemy at home and abroad; that all lenity would be regarded as the effect of weakness and fear; and that the opportunity must now or never be seized, of employing the ecclesiastical commission to strike down a church, who supported the Crown only as she dictated to it, and became rebellious at the moment when she was forbidden to be intolerant." To strengthen these topics, it was urged "that the factions had already boasted that the Court would not dare to proceed juridically against the bishops."

Both the prudent ministers, to whom these discussions were imparted, influenced probably by their wishes, expected that moderation would prevail;^a but, after a week of discussions, Jeffreys, fearing that the King could not be reconciled to absolute forbearance, and desirous of removing the odium from the ecclesiastical commission, of which he was the head,^b proposed that the bishops should be prosecuted in the Court of King's Bench, and

^a D'Adda and Barillon, 1 (11) June.

^b Van Citters, 1 (11) June. The biographer of James II. tells us that the Chancellor advised the King to prosecute the bishops for tumultuous petitioning, ignorantly supposing the statute passed at the Restoration against such petitioning to be applicable to their case. James II. ii. 158. The passage in the same page, which quotes the King's own MSS., is more naturally referable to the secret advisers of the order in council. The account of Van Citters, adopted in the text, recon-

the consideration of mercy or rigour postponed till after judgment : a compromise probably more impolitic than either of the extremes ; inasmuch as it united a conspicuous and solemn proceeding, and a form of trial partly popular, with the utmost boldness of defence, some probability of acquittal, and the least punishment in case of conviction. On the evening of the 27th of May, the second Sunday appointed for reading the Declaration, it was determined to prosecute the bishops ; and they were accordingly summoned to appear before the Privy Council on the 8th of June, to answer a charge of misdemeanour. In obedience to this summons, the bishops attended at Whitehall on the day appointed, about five o'clock in the afternoon, and being called into the council chamber, were graciously received by the King. The chancellor asked the Archbishop, whether a paper now shown to him was the petition written by him, and presented by the other bishops to his Majesty. The Archbishop, addressing himself to the King, answered, " Sir, I am called hither as a criminal, which I never was before : since I have that unhappiness, I hope your Majesty will not be offended that I am cautious of answering questions which may tend to accuse myself." The King called this chicanery ; adding, " I hope you will not deny your own hand." The Archbishop said, " The only reason for the question is to draw an answer which may be ground of accusation." Lloyd of St. Asaph added, " All divines of all Christian churches are agreed that no man in our situation is obliged to answer such questions ;" but the King impatiently pressing for an answer, the Archbishop said, " Sir, though not obliged to answer, yet, if your Majesty commands it, we are willing to obey, trusting to your justice and generosity that we shall not suffer for our obedience." The King said he should not command them, and Jeffreys directed them to withdraw. On their return, they were commanded by the King to answer, and they owned the petition. There is some doubt whether they repeated the condition on which they made their first offer of obedience ;^a but, if they

ciles the Jacobite tradition followed by Dicconson with the language of Jeffreys to Clarendon, and to the former complaints of the Catholics against his lukewarmness mentioned by Barillon.

^a Dr. D'Oyley, i. 278., seems on this point to vary from the narrative in Gutch, Coll. Curios. i. 351. It seems to me more probable that the condition was repeated after the second entrance ; for Dr. D'Oyley is certainly right in thinking that the statement of the Archbishop's words, as having been spoken " after the third or fourth coming in," must be a mistake. It is evidently at variance with the whole course of the examination.

did not, their forbearance must have arisen from a respectful confidence, which disposed them, with reason, to consider the silence of the King as a virtual assent to their unretracted condition. A tacit acceptance of conditional obedience is indeed as distinct a promise to perform the condition as the most express words. They were commanded to withdraw; and, on their return a third time, they were told by Jeffreys that they would be proceeded against; "but," he added (alluding to the obnoxious commission), "with all fairness, in Westminster Hall." He desired them to enter a recognisance (or legal engagement) to appear. They declared their readiness to answer, whenever they were called, without a recognisance; and, after some conversation, insisted on their privilege as peers not to be bound by recognisance in misdemeanour. They were directed once more; and, after several ineffectual attempts to prevail on them to accept the offer of being discharged on their own recognisances, as a favour, they were committed to the Tower by a warrant, which all the privy counsellors present, except Lord Berkeley and Father Petre, subscribed; of whom it is observable, that nine only were avowed Catholics, and nine professed members of the English church, besides Sunderland, whose renunciation of that religion was not yet made public.^a The order for their persecution was, however, sanctioned in the usual manner, by placing the names of all present at the head. The people, who saw the Bishops as they walked to the barges which were to conduct them to the Tower, were deeply affected by the spectacle; and, for the first time, manifested their emotions in a manner which would have still served as a wholesome admonition to a wise government. The demeanour of these prelates is described by eye-witnesses as meek, composed, and cheerful; ^b betraying no fear, and untainted by ostentation or defiance, but endowed with a greater power over the fellow-feeling of the beholders by the exhortations to loyalty, which were doubtless uttered with undesigning sincerity by the greater number of the venerable sufferers. The mode of conveyance, though probably selected for mere convenience, contributed to deepen and prolong the interest of the scene. The soldiers who escorted them to the shore had no need to make any demonstrations of violence, for the people were too much subdued by pity and reverence to vent their feelings other-

^a Gutch, Coll. Curios. i. 353, 354.

^b Reresby, 261.

wise than by tears and prayers. Having never before seen prelates in opposition to the King, accustomed to look at them only in a state of pacific and inviolate dignity, the spectators regarded their fall to the condition of prisoners and the appearance of culprits with amazement, awe, and compassion. The scene seemed to be a procession of martyrs. Thousands, says Van Citters, probably an eye-witness, begged their blessing.^a Some persons ran into the water to implore a blessing from the prisoners. Both banks of the Thames were lined with multitudes, who, when they were too distant to be heard, manifested their feelings by falling down on their knees, and raising up their hands, beseeching Heaven to guard the sufferers for religion and liberty.^b On landing at the Tower, several of the guards knelt down to receive their blessing. Some even of the officers yielded to the general impulse; and as the Bishops chanced to land at the accustomed hour of evening prayer, they immediately repaired to the chapel, where they heard, in the ordinary lesson of the day, a remarkable exhortation to the primitive teachers of Christianity, "to approve themselves the ministers of God, with patience, in afflictions, in imprisonments."^c The court ordered the guard to be doubled. On the following days multitudes crowded to the Tower,^d of whom the majority gazed on the prison with distant awe, while a few entered to offer homage and counsel to the venerable prisoners. "If it be a crime to lament," said a learned contemporary, in a confidential letter, "innumerable are the transgressors. The nobles of both sexes, as it were, keep their court at the Tower, whither a vast concourse daily go to beg the holy men's blessing. The very soldiers act as mourners."^e The soldiers on guard, indeed, drank their healths; and though reprimanded by Sir Edward Hales, now Lieutenant of the Tower, declared that they would persevere.^f The amiable Evelyn did not fail to visit them on the day previous to that on which he was to dine with the Chancellor, appearing to distribute his courtesies with the neutrality of Atticus;^g but we now know that Jeffreys himself, on the latter of these days, had sent a secret message by Clarendon, assuring the Bishops that he was much troubled at the prosecution, and offering his services to them.^h None of their visitors

^a Van Citters, 8 (18) June.

^b 2 Cor. vi.

^c Dr. Nalson's Letter to his Wife, in Gutch, Coll. Cur. i. 360.

^d Reresby.

^e Clar. Diary, 14th June.

^f Burnet, Echard, Ralph.

^g Clar. Diary, 9th, 10th, 12th June.

^h Evelyn's Diary, 13th and 14th June.

were more remarkable than a deputation of ten Nonconformist ministers, which so incensed the King that he personally reprimanded them; but they answered, that they could not but adhere to the Bishops, as men constant to the Protestant religion,^a—an example of magnanimity rare in the conflicts of religious animosities.

The Dissenting clergy seem, indeed, to have been nearly unanimous in preferring the general interest of religious liberty to the enlargement of their peculiar privileges. Alsop was full of sorrow for his compliances in the former year. Lobb, who was seized with so enthusiastic an attachment to James that he was long after known by the singular name of the "Jacobite Independent," alone persevered in devotedness to the court; and when the King asked his advice respecting the treatment of the Bishops, advised that they should be sent to the Tower.^b No exertion of friendship or of public zeal was wanting to prepare the means of their defence, and to provide for their dignity, in every part of the proceeding. The Bishop of London, Dr. Tennyson, and Johnstone, the secret agent of the Prince of Orange, appear to have been the most active of their friends. Pemberton and Pollexfen accounted the most learned among the elder lawyers, were engaged in their cause. Sir John Holt, destined to be the chief ornament of a bench purified by liberty, contributed his valuable advice. John Somers, then in the thirty-eighth year of his age,^c was objected to at one of their consultations, as too young and obscure to be one of their counsel;^d and, if we may believe Johnstone, it was owing to him that this memorable cause afforded the earliest opportunity of making known the superior intellect of that great man. Twenty-eight peers were prepared to bail them, if bail should be required.^e Stanley, chaplain to the Princess of Orange, had already assured Sancroft that the Prince and Princess approved their firmness, and were deeply interested in their fate.^f One of them, probably Trelawney, a prelate who had served in the civil war, early told Johnstone that if they were sent to the Tower, he hoped the Prince of Orange would take them out, which two regiments and his authority would do;^g and, a little later, the Bishop of St. Asaph

^a Reresby.

^b Johnst. 13th June.

^c Johnst. 13th June. "I told the Archbishop of Canterbury," says Johnstone, "that their fate depended on very mean persons." Burnet, iii. 217.

^d Born 1650.

^e Kennett.

^f Gutch, Coll. Curia. i. 357. where their names appear. Id. 307.

^g Johnstone, 27th May.

assured the same trusty agent, who was then collecting the opinions of several eminent persons on the seasonableness of resistance, that "the matter would be easily done."^a This bold prelate had familiarised himself to extraordinary events, and was probably tempted to daring counsels by an overweening confidence in his own interpretation of mysterious prophecies, which he had long laboured to illustrate by vain efforts of ability and learning. He made no secret of his expectations; but, at his first interview with a chaplain of the Archbishop, exhorted him to be of good courage, and declared that the happiest results were now to be hoped, for the people, incensed by tyranny, were ready to take up arms to expel the Papists from the kingdom, and to punish the King himself, which was to be deprecated, by banishment or death; adding, that if the Bishops escaped from their present danger, they would reform the Church from the corruptions which had crept into her frame, throw open her gates for the joyful entrance of the sober and pious among Protestant Dissenters, and relieve even those who should continue to be pertinacious in their nonconformity from the grievous yoke of penal laws.^b During the imprisonment, Sunderland and the Catholic lords, now supported by Jeffreys, used every means of art and argument to persuade James that the birth of the Prince of Wales (which will presently be related) afforded a most becoming opportunity for signalising that moment of national joy by a general pardon, which would comprehend the Bishops, without involving any apparent concession to them.^c The King, as usual, fluctuated. A proclamation, couched in the most angry and haughty language, commanding all clergymen, under pain of immediate suspension, to read the Declaration, was several times sent to the press, and as often withdrawn.^d "The King," said Jeffreys, "had once resolved to let the proceedings fall; but some men would hurry him to destruction."^e The obstinacy of James, inflamed by bigoted advisers, and supported by commendation, with proffered aid, from France, prevailed over sober counsels.

^a Johnstone, 18th June. The Bishop's observation is placed between the opinions of Mr. Hampden and Sir J. Lee, both zealous for immediate action. 4

^b Diary of Henry Wharton, 25th June, 1688. D'Oyley's Sancroft, ii. 134. The term "ponteficios," which is rendered in the text by Papists, may perhaps be limited, by a charitable construction, to the more devoted partisans of papal authority. "The Bishop of St. Asaph was a secret favourer of a foreign interest." Life of Kettlewell, 175. London, 1718; from the papers of Hicks and Nelson.

^c Johnstone, 13th June.

^d V. Citt. 29 May (6 June).

^e Clarend. Diary, 14th June.

On the 15th of June, the Bishops were brought before the Court of King's Bench by a writ of Habeas Corpus. On leaving the Tower they refused to pay the fees required by Sir Edward Hales as lieutenant, whom they charged with discourtesy. He so far forgot himself as to say that the fees were a compensation for the irons with which he might have loaded them, and the bare walls and floor to which he might have confined their accommodation.^a They answered, "We lament the King's displeasure, but every other man loses his breath who attempts to intimidate us." On landing from their barge, they were received with increased reverence by a great multitude, who made a lane for them, and followed them into Westminster Hall.^b The nuncio, unused to the slightest breath of popular feeling, was subdued by these manifestations of enthusiasm, which he relates with more warmth than any other contemporary. "Of the immense concourse of people," says he, "who received them on the bank of the river, the majority in their immediate neighbourhood were on their knees: the Archbishop laid his hands on the heads of such as he could reach, exhorting them to continue steadfast in their faith; they cried aloud that all should kneel, while tears flowed from the eyes of many."^c In the Court of King's Bench they were attended by the twenty-nine peers, who offered to be their sureties, and the court was instantly filled by a crowd of gentlemen attached to their cause. The return of the lieutenant of the Tower to the writ of Habeas Corpus set forth that the Bishops were committed under a warrant signed by certain privy counsellors for a seditious libel. The Attorney General moved, that the information should be read, and that the Bishops should be called on to plead, or, in common language, either to admit the fact, deny it, or, allege some legal justification of it. The counsel for the Bishops objected to reading the information on the ground that they were not legally before the court, because the warrant, though signed by privy counsellors, was not stated to be issued by them in that capacity, and because the Bishops, being peers of parliament, could not lawfully be committed for a libel. The court overruled these objections, the first with evident justice, because the warrant of commitment set forth its execution at the council chamber, and in the

^a Johnst. 18th June; and a more general statement to the same effect, Evelyn, 29th June.

^b Clarend. 15th June, &c.

^c D'Adda, 15 (22) June, and Reresby.

presence of the King, which sufficiently showed it to be the act of the subscribing privy counsellors acting as such: the second, with much doubt touching the extent of privilege of parliament, acknowledged on both sides to exempt from apprehension in all cases but treason, felony, and the peace; which last term was said by the counsel for the Crown to comprehend such constructive offences against the peace as a libel, and argued on behalf of the Bishops to be confined to those acts or threats of violence which, in common language, are termed breaches of the peace. The greatest judicial authority on constitutional law since the accession of the House of Brunswick has pronounced the determination of the Judges in 1688 to be erroneous.* The question depends too much upon irregular usage and technical subtleties to be brought under the cognisance of the historian, who must be content with observing, that the error was not so manifest as to warrant an imputation of bad faith to the Judges. A delay of pleading till next term, which is called an imparlance, was then claimed on the part of the Bishops. The officers usually referred to for the practice of the court declared it for the last twelve years to have been that the defendants should immediately plead. Sir Robert Sawyer, Mr. Finch, Sir Francis Pemberton, and Mr. Pollexfen, bore a weighty testimony, from their long experience, to the more indulgent practice of the better times which preceded; but Sawyer, covered with the guilt of so many odious proceedings, Finch, who was by no means free from participation in them, and even Pemberton, who had the misfortune to be Chief Justice in evil days, seemed to contend against the practice of their own administration with a bad grace; the veteran Pollexfen alone, without fear of retaliation, appealed to the pure age of Sir Matthew Hale. The court decided that the Bishops should plead, but their counsel considered themselves as having gained their legitimate object by showing that the government employed means at least disputable against them.^b The Bishops pleaded Not guilty, and

* Lord Chief Justice Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden. Wilkes's case, 1763.

^b State Trials, xii. 183. The general reader may be referred with confidence to the excellent Abridgment of the State Trials, by Mr. Phillipps, London, 1806; 2 vols. 8vo.; a work probably not to be paralleled by the union of discernment, knowledge, impartiality, calmness, clearness, and precision, it exhibits on questions the most angrily contested. It is, indeed, far superior to the huge and most unequal compilation of which it is an abridgment, to say nothing of the instructive observations on legal questions in which Mr. Phillipps rejudges the determinations of past times.

they were enlarged, on their own undertaking to appear on the trial, which was appointed to be on the 29th of June. As they left the court they were surrounded by crowds, who begged their blessing. The Bishop of St. Asaph, detained in Palace Yard by a multitude, who kissed his hands and garments, was delivered from their importunate kindness by Lord Clarendon, who, taking him into his carriage, found it necessary to make a circuit through the Park to escape from the bodies of people by whom the streets were obstructed.^a Shouts and huzzas broke out in the court, and were repeated all around at the moment of the enlargement. The bells of the Abbey Church of Westminster had begun to ring a joyful peal, when they were stopped by Sprat amidst the execrations of the people.^b No one knew, said the Dutch minister, what to do for joy. When the Archbishop landed at Lambeth, the grenadiers of Lord Lichfield's regiment, though posted there by his enemies, received him with military honours, made a lane for his passage from the river to his palace, and fell on their knees to ask his blessing.^c In the evening the premature joy at this temporary liberation displayed itself in bonfires, and in some outrages to Roman Catholics, as the supposed instigators of the prosecution.^d No doubt was entertained at court of the result of the trial, which the King himself took measures to secure by a private interview with Sir Samuel Astry, the officer whose province it was to form the jury.^e It was openly said that the bishops would be condemned to pay large fines; to be imprisoned till the payment, and suspended from their functions and revenues.^f A fund would thus be ready for the King's liberality to Catholic colleges and chapels, while the punishment of the archbishop would remove the only licenser of the press^g who was independent of the Crown. Sunderland still contended for the policy of being generous after victory, and of not seeking to destroy those who would be sufficiently degraded. He believed that he had made a favourable impression on the King.^h But that Prince spoke of the feebleness which had disturbed the reign of his brother, and brought his father to the scaffold. Ba-

^a Claren. 15th June.

^b Van Citters, 15 (25) June.

^c Johnst. 18th June. ^d Narc. Lutterell, and the two last-mentioned authorities.

^e Clar. Diary, 21st June and 27th June, where an agent of the court is said to have busied himself in striking the jury.

^f Barillon, 21 June (1 July). V. Citters, 22 June (2 July). ^g

^h It appears from Wharton's Diary, that the chaplains at Lambeth discharged this duty with more regard even then to the feelings of the King than to the rights of Protestant controversialists.

ⁱ D'Adda, 29 June (9 July),

illon represents him as inflexibly resolved on rigour,^a and the opinion seems to have been justified by the uniform result of every previous deliberation. Men of common understanding are much disposed to consider the contrary of the last unfortunate error as being always sound policy; they are incapable of estimating the various circumstances which may render vigour or caution applicable at different times and in different stages of the same proceedings. They pursue their single maxim, often founded on shallow views, even of one case, with headlong obstinacy; and if they be men also of irresolute nature, they are unable to resist the impetuosity of violent counsellors; they are prone to rid themselves from the pain of fluctuation by a sudden determination to appear decisive; and they often take refuge from past fears, and seek security from danger to come, by a rash and violent blow. "Lord Sunderland," says Barillon, "like a good courtier and an able politician, every where vindicates, with warmth and vigour, the measures which he disapproved and had opposed."^b

The bishops, on the appointed day, entered the court surrounded by the lords^c and gentlemen, who, on this solemn occasion, chose that mode of once more testifying their adherence to the public cause. Some previous incidents inspired courage. Levinz, one of the counsel retained, having endeavoured to excuse himself from an obnoxious duty, was compelled, by the threats of attornies, to perform it. The venerable Serjeant Maynard, urged to appear for the Crown, in the discharge of his duty as King's serjeant, boldly answered, that if he did he was bound also to declare his conscientious opinion of the case to the King's Judges.^d The appearance of the bench was not consolatory to the accused. Powell was the only impartial and upright Judge. Allibone, as a Roman Catholic, was, in reality, about to try the question whether he was himself legally qualified for his office. Wright and Holloway were placed on the bench to betray the law. Jeffreys himself, who appointed the Judges, now loaded them with the coarsest reproaches,^e more,

^a Bar. 21 June (1 July).

^b Bar. ubi supra.

^c "Thirty-five lords." Johnstone, 2d July; probably about one half of the legally qualified peers then in England and able to attend. There were eighty-nine temporal lords who were Protestants. Minority, and absence from the kingdom, and sickness, may account for nineteen.

^d Johnst. 2d July.

^e Clar. 27th June, "Roguea." 5th, "Knaves, Fools." He called Wright "a beast;" but this, it must be observed, was after his defeat.

perhaps, from distrust of their boldness than from apprehension of their independence. Symptoms of the overawing power of national opinion are indeed perceptible in the speech of the Attorney-General, which was not so much the statement of an accusation as an apology for the persecution. He disclaimed all attack on the bishops in their episcopal character; he did not now complain of their refusal to read the King's Declaration, but only charged them with the temporal offence of composing and publishing a seditious libel, under pretence of presenting a humble petition to his Majesty. His doctrine on libel was, indeed, subversive of liberty; but it has often been repeated in better times, though in milder terms, and with some reservations. "The bishops," said he, "are accused of censuring the government, and giving their opinion about affairs of state. No man may say of the great officers of the kingdom, far less of the King, that they act unreasonably, for that may beget a desire of reformation, and the last age will abundantly satisfy us whither such a thing does tend." The first difficulty arose on the proof of the handwriting of the bishops, which seems to have been decisive against Sancroft, sufficient against some others, and altogether wanting in the cases of Ken and Lake. All the witnesses on this subject gave their testimony with the most evident reluctance. The court was equally divided on the question whether there was sufficient proof of the handwriting to warrant the reading of the petition in evidence against the accused. The objection to reading it was groundless, but the answers to it attempted were so feeble as to betray a general irresolution and embarrassment. The counsel for the Crown were then driven to the necessity of calling the clerk of the privy council to prove the confessions before that body, in obedience to the commands of the King. When they were proved, Pemberton, with considerable dexterity, desired the witness to relate all the circumstances which attended these confessions. Blathwaite, the clerk, long resisted, and evaded this question, of which he evidently felt the importance. He was at length compelled to acknowledge that the bishops had accompanied their offer to submit to the royal command, by expressing their hope that no advantage would be taken of their confession against them. He could not pretend that they were warned against such a hope before their confession was received; but he eagerly added, that no promise to such an effect had been made, as if chicanery could be listened to in a matter which concerned the personal honour of a

sovereign. Williams, the only one of the counsel of the Crown who was more provoked than intimidated by the public voice, drew the attention of the audience to this breach of faith by the vehemence with which he resisted the admission of the evidence which proved it. Another subtle question sprung from the principle of English law, that crimes are triable only in the county where they are committed. It was said that the alleged libel was written at Lambeth in Surrey, and not proved to have been published in Middlesex; so that neither of the offences charged could be tried in the latter county. It was proved that it could not have been written in Middlesex; because the archbishop, who was the writer, had been confined by illness to his palace for some months. The counsel then endeavoured to prove by the clerks of the privy council, * that the bishops had owned the delivery of the petition to the King, which would have been a publication in Middlesex. But the witnesses proved only an admission of the signatures. On every failure, the audience showed their feelings by a triumphant laugh or a shout of joy. The Chief Justice, who at first feebly reprimanded them, soon abandoned the attempt to check them. In a long and irregular altercation, the advocates of the accused spoke with increasing boldness, and those for the prosecution with more palpable depression, except Williams, who vented the painful consciousness of inconsistency, unvarnished by success, in transports of rage which descended to the coarsest railing. The court had determined that there was no evidence of publication before the examination of the latter witnesses, who certainly afforded none. The Attorney and Solicitor-General, however, after the failure of that examination, proceeded to argue that the case was sufficient; chiefly, it should seem, to prolong the brawls till the arrival of Lord Sunderland, by whose testimony they expected to prove the delivery of the petition to the King. But the Chief Justice, who could no longer endure such wearisome confusion, began to sum up the evidence to the jury, whom, if he had adhered to his previous declaration, he must have instructed to acquit the accused. Finch, either distrusting the jury, or excused, if not justified, by the Judge's character, by the suspicious solemnity of his professions of impartiality and by his own too long familiarity with the darkest mysteries of state trials, suspected some

* Pepys, the noted secretary to the Admiralty, was one of the witnesses examined. He was probably a privy counsellor.

secret design, and respectfully interrupted Wright, in order to ascertain whether he still thought that there was no sufficient proof of writing in Middlesex, or of publication any where. Wright, who seemed to be piqued, said, he was sorry Mr. Finch should think him capable of not leaving it fairly to the jury. He scarcely contained his exultation over the supposed indiscretion of Finch.^a Pollexfen requested the Judge to proceed, and Finch pressed his interruption no farther. But Williams, who, when Wright had begun to sum up, countermanded his request for the attendance of Lord Sunderland as too late, seized the opportunity of this interruption to despatch a second message, urging him to come without delay, and begged the court to suspend the summing up, as a person of great quality was about to appear who would supply the defects in the evidence. He triumphantly said, that there was a fatality in this case, and Wright said to the bishops' counsel, "You see what comes of the interruption; now we must stay." All the bystanders condemned Finch as much as he soon afterwards compelled them to applaud him. An hour was spent in waiting for Sunderland. It appears to have been during this fortunate delay that the bishops' counsel determined on a defence founded on the illegality of the dispensing power, from which they had before been either deterred from an apprehension that they would not be suffered to question an adjudged point, or diverted at the moment by the prospect that the Chief Justice would sum up for an acquittal.^b By this resolution, the verdict, instead of only insuring the escape of the bishops, became a triumph of the Constitution. At length Sunderland was carried through Westminster in a chair, of which the head was down. No one saluted him. The multitude hooted

^a "The C. J. said, 'Gentlemen, you do not know your own business; but since you will be heard, you shall be heard.'" Johnst. 2d July. He seems to have been present, and, as a Scotchman, was not very likely to have invented so good an illustration of the future tense. It is difficult not to suspect that Wright, after admitting that there was no positive evidence of publication in Middlesex, did not intend to tell the jury that there were circumstances proved from which they might reasonably infer the fact. The only circumstance, indeed, which could render it doubtful that he would lay down a doctrine so well founded, and so suitable to his purpose, at a time when he could no longer be contradicted, is the confusion which, on this trial, seems to have more than usually clouded his weak understanding.

^b "They waited about an hour for Sunderland, which luckily fell out, for in this time the bishop's lawyers recollected themselves, in order to what followed." Johnst. 2d July. A minute examination of the trial explains these words of Johnstone, and remarkably proves his accuracy. From the eagerness of Pollexfen that Wright should proceed with his address to the jury, it is evident they did not then intend to make the defence which was afterwards made.

and hissed, crying out "Popish dog." He was so disordered by this reception, that when he came into court he trembled, changed colour, and looked down, as if fearful of the countenances of ancient friends, and unable to bear the contrast between his own disgraceful greatness and the honourable calamity of the bishops. He proved that the bishops came to him with a petition to the King, which he declined to read, and that he introduced them immediately to the King, to whom he had communicated the purpose for which they prayed an audience.

The general defence then began, and the counsel for the bishops, without relinquishing their minor objections, arraigned the dispensing power, and maintained the right of petition with a vigour and boldness which entitles such of them as were only mere advocates to great approbation, and those among them who were actuated by higher principles to the everlasting gratitude of their country. When Sawyer began to question the legality of the Declaration, Wright, speaking aside, said, "I must not suffer them to dispute the King's power of suspending laws." Powell answered, "They must touch that point; for if the King hath no such power (as clearly he hath not), the petition is no attack on the King's legal power, and therefore no libel." Wright peevishly replied, "I know you are full of that doctrine, but the bishops shall have no reason to say I did not hear them. Brother, you shall have your way for once. I will hear them. Let them talk till they are weary."

The substance of the argument was, that a dispensing power was unknown to the ancient constitution; that the Commons, in the reign of Richard II., had formally consented that the King should, with the assent of the Lords, exercise such a power respecting a single law till the next parliament; that the acceptance of such a trust was a parliamentary declaration against the existence of such a prerogative; that though there were many cases of dispensations from penalties granted to individuals, there never was an instance of a pretension to dispense with laws before the Restoration; that it was in the reign of Charles II. twice condemned by parliament, twice relinquished, and once disclaimed by the Crown; that it was declared to be illegal by the House of Commons in their very last session; and finally, that the power to suspend was in effect a power

abrogate; that it was an assumption of the whole legislative authority, and laid the laws and liberties of the kingdom at the mercy of the King. Mr. Somers, whose research had supplied the ancient authorities quoted by his seniors, closed the defence in a speech admirable for a perspicuous brevity adapted to the stage of the trial at which he spoke, on which, with a mind so unruffled by the passions which raged around him as even to preserve a beautiful simplicity of expression rarely reconcileable with anxious condensation, he conveyed in a few luminous sentences the substance of all that been dispersed over a rugged, prolix, and disorderly controversy. "My Lord, I would only mention the case respecting a dispensation from a statute of Edward VI., wherein all the Judges determined that there never could be an abrogation or suspension (which is a temporary abrogation) of an act of parliament but by the legislative power. It was, indeed, disputed how far the King might dispense with the penalties on such a particular law, as to particular persons, but it was agreed by all that the King had no power to suspend any law. Nay, I dare venture to appeal to Mr. Attorney-General, whether, in the late case of Sir Edward Hales, he did not admit that the King could not suspend a law, but only grant a dispensation from its observance to a particular person. My Lord, by the law of all civilised nations, if the prince requires something to be done, which the person who is to do it takes to be unlawful, it is not only lawful, but his duty, *rescribere principi*,* to petition the sovereign. This is all that is done here; and that in the most humble manner that could be thought of. Your Lordships will please to observe how far that humble caution went; how careful they were that they might not in any way justly offend the King: they did not interpose by giving advice as peers; they never stirred till it was brought home to themselves as bishops. When they made this petition, all they asked was, that it might not be so far insisted on by his Majesty as to oblige them to read it. Whatever they thought of it, they do not take it upon them to desire the Declaration to be revoked. My Lord, as to the matters of fact alleged in the petition, that they are perfectly true we have shown by the Journals of both Houses. In every one of those years

* This phrase of the Roman law, which at first sight seems mere pedantry, conveys a delicate and happy allusion to the liberty of petition, which was allowed even under the despotism of the emperors of Rome.

which are mentioned in the petition, this power was considered by parliament, and upon debate declared to be contrary to law. There could then be no design to diminish the prerogative, for the King has no such prerogative. Seditious, my Lord, it could not be, nor could it possibly stir up sedition in the minds of the people, because it was presented to the King in private and alone; false it could not be, for the matter of it was true; there could be nothing of malice, for the occasion was not sought, but the thing was pressed upon them; and a libel it could not be, because the intent was innocent, and they kept within the bounds set up by the law that gives the subject leave to apply to his prince by petition when he is aggrieved." The Crown lawyers, by whom this extensive and bold defence seems to have been unforeseen, manifested in their reply their characteristic faults. Powis was feebly technical, and Williams was offensively violent.* Both evaded the great question of the prerogative by professional common-places of no avail with the jury or the public.† They both relied on the usual topics employed by their predecessors and successors, that the truth of a libel could not be the subject of enquiry; and that the falsehood, as well as the malice and sedition charged by the information, were not matters of fact to be tried by the jury, but qualifications applied by the law to every writing derogatory from the government. Both triumphantly urged that the parliamentary proceedings of the last and present reign, being neither acts nor judgments of Parliament, were no proof of the illegality of what they condemned, without adverting to the very obvious consideration that the bishops appealed to them only as such manifestations of the sense of Parliament as it would be imprudent in them to disregard. Williams, in illustration of this argument, asked whether the name of a declaration in Parliament could be given to the Bill of *exclusion*, because it had passed the Commons (where he had been very active in promoting it). This indiscreet allusion‡ was received with a general hiss. He was driven to the untenable position, that a petition from these prelates was warrantable only to Parliament,

* Pollexfen and Finch took no small pains to inveigh against the King's dispensing power. The counsel for the Crown waved that point, though Mr. Solicitor was fiercely earnest against the bishops, and took the management upon himself, Mr. Attorney's province being to put a smooth question now and then. Mr. (afterwards Baron) Price to the Duke of Beaufort. Macpherson. State Papers.

† V. Citt. 29 June (9 July).

and that they were bound to delay it till Parliament was assembled. Wright, waving the question of the dispensing power,^a instructed the jury that a delivery to the King was a publication; and that any writing which was adapted to disturb the government, or make a stir among the people, was a libel : language of fearful import, but not peculiar to him, nor confined to his time. Holloway thought, that if the intention of the bishops was only to make an innocent provision for their own security, the writing could not be a libel. Powell declared that they were innocent of sedition, or of any other crime. "If such a dispensing power be allowed, there will need no Parliament; all the legislature will be in the King. I leave the issue to God and to your consciences. Allibone overleaped all the fences of decency or prudence so far as to affirm "that no man can take upon himself to write against the actual exercise of the government, unless he have leave from the government, but he makes a libel, be what he writes true or false. The government ought not to be impeached by argument. This is a libel. No private man can write concerning the government at all, unless his own interest be stirred, and then he must redress himself by law. Every man may petition in what relates to his private interest; but neither the bishops, nor any other man, has a right to intermeddle in affairs of government." After a trial which lasted ten hours, the jury retired at seven o'clock in the evening to consider their verdict. The friends of the bishops watched at the door of the jury-room, and heard loud voices at midnight and at three o'clock; so anxious were they about the issue, though delay be in such cases a sure symptom of acquittal. The opposition of one Arnold, the brewer of the King's house, being at length subdued by the steadiness of the others, they informed the Chief Justice, at six o'clock in the morning, that the jury were agreed in their verdict,^b and desired to know when he would receive it. The Court met at nine

^a "The dispensing power is more effectually knocked on the head than if an act of Parliament had been made against it. The Judges said nothing about it, except Powell, who declared against it. So it is given up in Westminster Hall. My Lord Chief Justice is much blamed at court for allowing it to be debated." *Johnst.* 2d July.

^b Letter of Ince, the solicitor for the bishops, to Sancroft. *Gutch, Coll. Cur.* i. 374. From this letter we learn that the perilous practice then prevailed of successful parties giving a dinner and money to the jury. The solicitor proposed that the dinner should be omitted, but that 150 or 200 guineas should be distributed among twenty-two of the pannel who attended. "Most of them (i. e. the pannel of the jury) are Church of England men : several are employed by the King in the navy and revenue; and some are or once were of the Dissenters' party." *News*

o'clock. The nobility and gentry covered the benches, and an immense concourse of people filled the Hall, and blocked up the adjoining streets. Sir Robert Langley, the foreman of the jury, being, according to established form, asked whether the accused were guilty or not guilty, pronounced the verdict, "Not guilty." No sooner were these words uttered than a loud huzza arose from the audience in the court. It was instantly echoed from without by a shout of joy, which sounded like a crack of the ancient and massy roof of Westminster Hall.^a It passed with electrical rapidity from voice to voice along the infinite multitude who waited in the streets. It reached the Temple in a few minutes. For a short time no man seemed to know where he was. No business was done for hours. The Solicitor General informed Lord Sunderland, in the presence of the nuncio, that never within the remembrance of man had there been heard such cries of applause mingled with tears of joy. "The acclamations," says Sir John Reresby, "were a very rebellion in noise." In no long time they ran to the camp at Hounslow, and were repeated with an ominous voice by the soldiers in the hearing of the King, who, on being told that they were for the acquittal of the bishops, said, with an ambiguity probably arising from confusion, "So much the worse for them." The jury were received with the loudest acclamations: hundreds, with tears in their eyes, embraced them as deliverers.^c The bishops, almost alarmed at their own success, escaped from the huzzas of the people as privately as possible, and exhorted them to fear God and honour the King. Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, had remained in court during the trial unnoticed by any of the crowd of nobility and gentry, and Sprat met with little more regard.^d Cartwright, in going to his carriage, was called a "wolf in sheep's clothing;" and as he was very corpulent, the populace cried out, "Room for the man with a pope in his belly!"^e They bestowed also on Sir William Williams very mortifying proofs of disrespect.^f Money was thrown among the populace to drink the healths of the King, the bishops, and the jury. In the evening they did so, together with

Letter. Ellis, 2d series, iv. 105. Of this last class we are told by Johnstone (2d July), that, "on being sounded by the Court agents, they declared that if they were jurors, they should act according to their conscience."

^a Clarendon, 30th June.

^b V. Citty 3 (13) July.

^c V. Citty, 3 (13) July.

^d D'Adda, 6 (16) July.

^e Gutch, i. 382.

^f Id.

confusion to the Papists, amidst the ringing of bells, and around bonfires which were lighted throughout the city, blazing before the windows of the King's palace,^a where the Pope was burnt in effigy^b by those who were not aware of his lukewarm friendship for their enemies. Bonfires were particularly kindled before the doors of the most distinguished Roman Catholics, who were required by the multitude to defray the expense of this annoyance. Lord Arundel, and others, submitted. Lord Salisbury, with the zeal of a new convert, sent his servants to disperse the rabble; but after having fired and killed the parish beadle, who came to quench the bonfire, they were driven back into the house. All parties, Dissenters as well as Churchmen, rejoiced in the acquittal; the bishops and their friends vainly laboured to temper the extravagance with which it was expressed.^c The nuncio, at first touched by the effusion of popular feeling, but now shocked by this boisterous triumph, declared, "that the fires over the whole city, the drinking in every street, accompanied by cries to the health of the bishops and confusion to the Catholics, with the play of fireworks, and the discharge of fire-arms, and the other demonstrations of furious gladness, mixed with impious outrage against religion, which were continued during the night, formed a scene of unspeakable horror, displaying, in all its rancour, the malignity of this heretical people against the church."^d The bonfires were kept up during the whole of Saturday, and the disorderly joys of the multitude did not cease till the dawn of Sunday reminded them of the duties of their religion.^e The same rejoicings spread through the principal towns; and the grand jury of Middlesex refused to find indictments for a riot against those who tumultuously kindled the bonfire, though four times sent out with instructions to find them.^f The Court also manifested its deep feelings on this occasion. In two days after the acquittal, the rank of Baronet was conferred upon Williams; Powell for his honesty, and Holloway for his hesitation, were removed from the bench: the King betrayed the disturbance of his mind even in his camp,^g and, though accustomed to unreserved conversation with Barillon, he observed

^a V. Citters, 3 (13) July.

^b News Letter.

^c Ellis, iv. 110.

^d Reresby, ubi *suprà*.

^e Johnst. 2d July. Gerard, News Letter, 4th July.

^f D'Adda, 6 (16) July.

^g Reresby, 265. Gerard's News Letter, 7th July.

a silence on the acquittal which that minister was too prudent to interrupt.*

In order to form a just estimate of this memorable trial, it is necessary to distinguish its peculiar grievances from the evils which always attend the stricter administration of the laws against political libels. The doctrine that every writing which indisposes the people to the administration of the government, however subversive of all political discussion, is not one of these peculiar grievances; for it has often been held in other cases, and perhaps never distinctly disclaimed. The position that a libel may be conveyed in the form of a petition is true, though the case must be evident and flagrant which would warrant its application. The extravagances of Williams and Allibone might in strictness be laid out of the case, as peculiar to themselves, and not necessary to support the prosecution, were it not that they pointed out the threatening positions which success in that attack might encourage and enable the enemy to occupy. But it was absolutely necessary for the Crown to contend that the matter of the writing was so inflammatory as to change its character from a petition to a libel; that the intention in composing it was not to obtain relief, but to excite discontent; and that it was presented to the King to insult him, and to make its contents known to others. The attempt to extract such conclusions from the evidence against the bishops was an excess beyond the furthest limits of the law of libel, as it had even then been practised in any number of cases which could amount to authority. But the generous feelings of mankind did not so scrupulously weigh the demerits of the prosecution. The effect of the excess was to throw a strong light on all the odious qualities (hid from the mind in their common state by familiarity) of a jealous and restrictive legislation, directed against the free exercise of reason, and the fair examination of the interests of the community. All the vices of that distempered state in which a government cannot endure a fearless discussion of its principles

* Whitehall, 6th July. His Majesty has been pleased to remove Sir Richard Holloway and Sir John Powell from being justices of the King's Bench. Lond. Gazette. In the Life of James II. it is said that "the King gave no marks of his displeasure to the Judges Holloway and Powell;" ii. 163. It is due to the character of James, to say that this falsehood does not proceed from him; and justice requires it to be added, that as Dicconson, the compiler, thus evidently neglected the most accessible means of ascertaining the truth, very little credit is due to those portions of his narrative for which, as in the present case, he cites no authority.

and measures, appeared in the peculiar evils of a single conspicuous prosecution. The feelings of mankind, in this respect more provident than their judgment, saw, in the loss of every post, the danger to the last entrenchments of public liberty. At the moment, a multitude of circumstances, wholly foreign to its character as a judicial proceeding, gave the trial the strongest hold on the hearts of the people. Unused to popular meetings, and little accustomed to political writings, the whole nation looked on this first public discussion of their rights in a high place, and surrounded by the majesty of public justice, with that new and intense interest which it is not easy for those who are familiar with such scenes to imagine. It was the prosecution of men of the most venerable character and manifestly innocent intention, after the success of which no good man could have been secure. It was an experiment, in some measure, to ascertain the means and probabilities of deliverance. The government was on its trial; and by the verdict of acquittal, the King was justly convicted of a conspiracy to maintain usurpation by oppression.

The solicitude of Sunderland for moderation in these proceedings had exposed him to such charges of lukewarmness, that he deemed it necessary no longer to delay the long-promised and decisive proof of his identifying his interest with that of his master. Sacrifices of a purely religious nature cost him little.^a Some time before, he had compounded for his own delay by causing his eldest son to abjure Protestantism; "choosing rather," says Barillon, "to expose his son than himself to future hazard."

The specious excuse of preserving his vote in Parliament had hitherto been deemed sufficient. The shame of apostasy, and an anxiety not to embroil himself irreparably with a Protestant successor, were the motives for delay. But nothing less than a public avowal of his conversion would now suffice to shut the mouths of his enemies, who imputed his advice of lenity towards the bishops to a desire of keeping measures with the adherents of the Prince of Orange.^b It was accordingly in the week of the bishops' trial that he made public his renunciation of the Protestant religion, but without any solemn abjuration; because he had the

^a "On ne sçait pas de quelle religion il est." Lettre d'un Anonyme (peut-être Bonrepaux) sur la Cour de Londres, 1687. MSS. au Dépôt des Affaires Etrangères.

^b "Il a voulu fermer la bouche à ses ennemis, et leur ôter tout prétexte de dire qu'il peut entrer dans sa conduite quelque ménagement pour la partie de M. le Prince d'Orange." Barillon, 29 June (8 July), 1688.

year before secretly performed that ceremony to Father Petre.^a By this measure he completely succeeded in preserving or recovering the favour of the King, who announced it with the warmest commendations to his Catholic counsellors, and told the nuncio that a resolution so generous and holy would very much contribute to the service of God. "I have, indeed, been informed," says that minister, "that some of the most fanatical merchants of the city have observed that the royal party must certainly be the strongest, since, in the midst of the universal exasperation of men's minds, it is thus embraced by a man so wise, prudent, rich, and well informed."^b The Catholic courtiers also considered the conversion as an indication of the superior strength and approaching triumph of their religion.^c Perhaps, indeed, the birth of the Prince of Wales might have encouraged him to the step. But it chiefly arose from the prevalence of the present fear for his place over the apprehension of remote consequences. Ashamed of his conduct, he employed a friend to communicate his change to his excellent lady, who bitterly deplored it.^d His uncle, Henry Sidney, the most confidential agent of the Prince of Orange, was incensed at his apostasy, and openly expressed the warmest wishes for his downfall.^e

Two days after the imprisonment of the bishops, as if all the events which were to hasten the catastrophe of this reign, however various in their causes or unlike in their nature, were crowded into the same scene, the Queen was delivered in the palace of St. James's, of a son, whose birth had been the object of more hopes and fears, and was now the hinge on which greater events turned, than that of any other royal infant since human affairs have been recorded in authentic history. Never did the dependence of a monarchical government on physical accident

^a Barill. ubi supra. "Father Petre, though it was irregular, was forced to say two masses in one morning, because Lord Sunderland and Lord Mulgrave were not to know of each other's conversion." Halifax MSS. The French ambassador at Constantinople informed Sir William Trumbull of the secret abjuration. Ibid. "It is now necessary," says V. Cittera, "to secure the King's favour; the Queen's, if she be regent; and his own place in the Council of Regency, if there be one." V. Cittera, 24 June (6 July).

^b D'Adda, 29 June (9 July).

^c Johnst. 2d July.

^d Johnst. ubi supra. Evelyn, who visited Althorp a fortnight after, alludes to it. "After a warm panegyric on Lady Sunderland (Lady Anne Digby), he says, 'I wish from my soul that the Lord her husband, whose parts are otherwise conspicuous, were as worthy of her, as by a fatal apostasy and court ambition he has made himself unworthy.'" Evelyn, 18th July, 1688.

^e Johnst. ubi supra.

more strikingly appear. On Trinity Sunday, the 10th of June,^a between nine and ten in the morning, the Prince of Wales was born, in the presence of the Queen Dowager, of most of the Privy Council, and of several ladies of quality; of all, in short, who were the natural witnesses on such an occasion, except the Princess Anne, who was at Bath, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was a prisoner in the Tower. The cannons of the Tower were fired, a general thanksgiving was ordered, and the Lord Mayor was enjoined to give directions for bonfires and public rejoicing. Some addresses of congratulation followed; compliments were received on so happy an occasion from foreign powers. The British ministers abroad, in due time, celebrated the auspicious birth with undisturbed magnificence, at Rome; amidst the loudest manifestations of dissatisfaction and apprehension at Amsterdam. From Jamaica to Madras, the distant dependencies, with which an unfrequent intercourse was then maintained by tedious voyages, continued their prescribed rejoicings long after other feelings openly prevailed in the mother country. The genius of Dryden, which often struggled with the difficulty of a task imposed, commemorated the birth of the "son of prayer" in no ignoble verse,^b but with prophecies of glory which were speedily clouded, and in the end most signally disappointed. The universal belief that the child was suppositions is a fact which illustrates several principles of human nature, and affords a needful and wholesome lesson of scepticism, even in cases where many testimonies seem to combine, and all judgments for a time agree. The historians who wrote while the dispute was still pending enlarge on the particulars; in our age, the only circumstances deserving preservation are those which throw light on the origin and reception of a false

^a In the Gregorian Calendar the 20th.

^b *Britannia Rediviva*:—

" Born in broad daylight, that the ungrateful rout
May find no room for a remaining doubt:
Truth, which itself is light, does darkness shun,
And the true eaglet safely dares the sun.
Fain would the fiends have made a dubious birth.

No suture ill, nor accidents, appear,
To sully or pollute the sacred infant's year.

But kings too tame are despicably good.
Be this the mixture of the regal child,
By nature manly, but by virtue mild."

opinion which must be owned to have contributed to the subsequent events. Few births are so well attested as that of the unfortunate prince whom almost all English protestants then believed to be spurious. The Queen had, for months before, alluded to her pregnancy, in the most unaffected manner, to the Princess of Orange.^a The delivery took place in the presence of many persons of unsuspected veracity, a considerable number of whom were protestants. Messengers were early sent to fetch Dr. Chamberlain, an eminent obstetrical practitioner, and a noted Whig, who had been oppressed by the King, and who would have been the last person summoned to be present at a pretended delivery.^b But as "not one in a thousand" had credited the pregnancy, the public now looked at the birth with a strong predisposition to unbelief, which a very natural neglect suffered for some time to grow stronger from being uncontradicted. This prejudice was provoked to greater violence by the triumph of the Catholics, as suspicion had before been awakened by their bold predictions. The importance of the event had, at the earlier part of the pregnancy, produced mystery and reserve, the frequent attendants of fearful anxiety, which were eagerly seized on as presumptions of sinister purpose. When a passionate and inexperienced Queen disdained to take any measures to silence malicious rumours, her inaction was imputed to inability; when she submitted to the use of prudent precautions, they were represented as betraying the fears of conscious guilt: every act of the royal family had some handle by which ingenious hostility could turn it against them. Reason was employed only to discover argument in support of the judgment which passion had pronounced. In spite of the strongest evidence, the Princess Anne honestly persevered in her incredulity.^c Johnstone, who received minute information of all the particulars of the delivery from one of the Queen's attendants,^d could not divest himself of suspicions, of which the good faith seems to be proved by his not hazarding a positive judgment on the subject. The slightest incidents of a lying-in room were darkly coloured by his suspicions. It is evident that no in-

^a Ellis's Letters, iii. 348. (1st series, 1824.) 21st Feb., 15th May, and afterwards 6th July and 13th. The last is decisive.

^b Dr. Chamberlain's Letter to the Princess Sophia. Dalrymple, Append.

^c Princess Anne to Princess of Orange. Ibid.

^d Johnst. June 13. Mrs. Dawson, one of the gentlewomen of the Queen's bedchamber, a Protestant, afterwards examined before the privy council, who communicated all the circumstances to her friend, Mrs. Baillie, of Jerviswood, Johnstone's sister.

cidents in human life could have stood the test of a trial by minds so prejudiced, especially as long as adverse scrutiny has the advantages of partial selection and skilful insinuation, undisturbed by full discussion, in which all circumstances are equally sifted. When the before-mentioned attendant of the Queen declared to a large company of gainsayers that "she would swear," as she afterwards did, "that the Queen had a child," it was immediately said, "How ambiguous is her expression! the child might have been born dead." At one moment he boasts of the universal unbelief; at another he is content with saying that even wise men see no evidence of the birth; that, at all events, there is doubt enough to require a parliamentary enquiry, and that the general doubt may be lawfully employed as an argument by those who, even if they do not share it, did nothing to produce it.* He sometimes endeavours to stifle his own scepticism by public opinion, and on other occasions has recourse to these very ambiguous maxims of factious casuistry; but the whole tenour of his confidential letters shows the groundless unbelief in the prince's legitimacy to have been as spontaneous as it was general. Various and even contradictory accounts of the supposed imposture were circulated. It was said that the Queen was never pregnant; that she had miscarried at Easter; that one child, and by some accounts two children, in succession, had been substituted in the room of the abortion. That these tales contradicted each other, was a very slight objection in the eye of a national prejudice. The people were very slow in seeing the contradiction. Some had heard only one story, some jumbled parts of more together. The zealous, when beat out of one version, retired upon another. The skilful chose that which, like the abortion, of which there had actually been a danger, had some apparent support from facts. When driven successively from every post, they took refuge in the general remark, that so many stories must have a foundation; that they all coincided in the essential circumstance of a supposititious birth, though they differed in facts of inferior moment; that the King deserved, by his other breaches of faith, the humiliation which he now underwent; that the natural punishment of those who have often deceived is to be disbelieved when they speak truth. It is the policy of most parties not to discourage zealous partisans. The multitude considered every man who hesitated in thinking the worst of an enemy, as his abettor;

* *Johnst.* 18th June.

and the loudness of the popular cry subdued the remains of candid doubt in those who had at first, from policy, countenanced, though they did not contrive, the delusion. At subsequent times, it was not thought the part of a good citizen to take away any prop from the Revolution, and to detect a prevalent error, which afforded a justification of it, which, though ignoble, enabled the partisans of inviolable succession to adhere to it without inconsistency during the reign of Anne.^a By a belief in the spuriousness of the Prince of Wales, the House of Hanover were brought more near to an hereditary right. Johnstone, on the spot, and at the moment, almost worked himself into a belief of it; Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, honestly adhered to it many years after.^b The collection of inconsistent rumours on this subject by Burnet reflects more on his judgment than any other passage of his history; yet, zealous as he was, his conscience would not allow him to profess his own belief in what was still a fundamental article of the creed of his party. Echard, under George I., intimates his disbelief, for which he is almost rebuked by Kennet. The upright and judicious Rapiu, though a French Protestant, an officer of the army led by the Prince of Orange into England, yet, in the liberty of his foreign retirement, gave an honest judgment against his prejudices. Both parties, on this subject, so exactly believed what they wished, that perhaps scarcely any individual before him examined it on grounds of reason. The Catholics were right by chance, and by chance the Protestants were wrong. Had it been a case of the temporary success of artful impostures, so common an occurrence would have deserved no notice. But the growth of a general delusion from the prejudice and passion of a nation, and the deep root which enabled it to keep a place in history for half a century, render this transaction worthy to be remembered by posterity.

The triumph of the Bishops did not terminate all proceedings of the ecclesiastical commissioners against the disobedient clergy. They issued an orders requiring the proper officers in each diocese to make a return of the names of those who had not read the royal

^a Caveat against the Whigs, part ii. 50., where the question is left in doubt at the critical period of 1712.

^b See his account, adverted to by Burnet and others, published by Oldmixon, i. 734. "The bishop whom your friends know, bids me tell them that he had met with neither man nor woman who were so good as to believe the Prince of Wales to be a lawful child." Johnst. 2d July. This bold bishop was probably Compton.

^c 12th July, Lond. Gaz.

declaration. On the day before that which was fixed for the giving in the return, a meeting of chancellors and archdeacons was held, at which eight agreed to return that they had no means of procuring the information but at their regular visitation, which did not fall within the appointed time. Six declined to make any return; and five excused themselves on the plea that the order had not been legally served upon them.^a The commissioners were now content to shut their eyes on lukewarmness, resistance, or evasion. They affected a belief in the reason assigned for noncompliance, directed a return to be made on the 6th of December, and appointed a previous day for a visitation.^b On the day when they exhibited these symptoms of debility and decay, they received a letter from Sprat, tendering the resignation of his seat at their board, which was universally regarded as foreboding their speedy dissolution; ^c and the last dying effort of their usurped authority was to adjourn to a day on which they were destined never to meet. Such, indeed, was the discredit into which these proceedings had fallen, that the Bishop of Chichester had the spirit to suspend one of his clergy for obedience to the King's order in reading the royal declaration.^d The Court and the Church contended with each other for the alliance of the Dissenters, but with very unequal success. The last attempt of the King to gain them, was the admission into the privy council of three gentlemen, who were either Nonconformists, or well disposed towards that body,—Sir John Trevor, Colonel Titus, and Mr. Vane, the posthumous son of the celebrated Sir Henry Vane.^e In the meantime, the Church took better means to unite all Protestants against a usurpation which clothed itself in the garb of religious liberty. The established clergy held several consultations on the mode of coming to a better understanding with the Dissenters.^f The archbishop and clergy of London had several conferences with the principal dissenting ministers on the measures fit to be proposed about religion in the next parliament.^g The primate himself issued admonitions to his

^a Sayers' News Letter, 18th August.

^b 16th August, London Gazette.

^c Sayers' News Letter, 22d August. "The secretary gave this letter to the chancellor, who swore that the bishop was mad. He gave it to the lord president, but it was never read to the board." Such was then the disorder in their minds and in their proceedings.

^d Sayers' News Letter, 19th Sept., Kenn. iii. 515, note; in both which, the date of Sprat's letter is 15th August, 1688, the day before the last meeting of the commissioners.

^e 6th July, Lond. Gaz.

^f Sayers' News Letter, 7th July.

^g News Letter, 21st July. Ellis, iv. 117. (2d series.)

clergy, in which he exhorted them to have a very tender regard to their brethren, the Protestant dissenters, and to entreat them to join in prayer for the union of all reformed churches "at home and abroad, against the common enemy,"^a conformably to the late petition of himself and his brethren, in which they had declared their willingness to come into such a temper as should be thought fit with the Dissenters, when that matter should be considered in parliament and convocation. He even carried this new-born tenderness towards the long persecuted Dissenters so far as to renew those projects for uniting the more moderate of them to the Church, by some concessions relating to the terms of worship, and for exempting those whose scruples were insurmountable from the severity of penal laws, which had been smothered by his friends, when they were negotiated by Hale and Baxter in the preceding reign; and, within a few months after, these amicable overtures were again resisted, by the same party, with too much success. The disaffection of the Church manifested itself in several instances. The University of Oxford refused so small a compliance as that of conferring the degree of doctor of divinity on their bishop, according to the royal mandamus,^b and hastened to elect the young Duke of Ormond to be their chancellor on the death of his grandfather, in order to escape the imposition of Jeffreys, for whom they apprehended a recommendation from the Court.

Several symptoms now indicated that the national discontents had infected the armed force. The seamen in the squadron at the Nore received some monks who were sent to officiate among them with boisterous marks of derision and aversion; and, though the tumult was composed by the presence of the King, it left behind dispositions favourable to the purposes of disaffected officers. His proceedings respecting the army were uniformly impolitic. He had, very early, boasted of the number of soldiers in the guards who were converted to his religion; thus disclosing to them the dangerous secret of their importance to his designs.^c This sensibility to the misfortunes of the bishops, shown at the Tower and at Lambeth, betokened a proneness to fellow-feeling with the people, which Sunderland had before intimated to the nuncio, and of which he probably forewarned his master. After the triumph of these prelates, on occasion of which the feelings of the army declared them-

^a Dooley, i. 324.

^c D'Adda, 5th Dec. 1687.

^b Sayers' News Letter, 25th July.

selves more loudly, the King had recourse to the very doubtful expedient of paying open court to them. He dined twice a week in the camp,* and showed an anxiety to ingratiate himself with them by a display of affability, of precautions for their comfort, and of pride in their discipline and appearance. Without the boldness which quells a mutinous spirit, or the firmness which, where activity would be injurious, can quietly look at a danger till it disappears or may be surmounted, he yielded to the restless fearfulness which seeks a momentary relief in rash and mischievous efforts, that rouse many rebellious tempers and subdue none. A written test was prepared, which even the privates were required to subscribe,^b by which they bound themselves to contribute to the repeal of penal laws. It was first to be tendered to some regiments who were most expected to set a good example to the army. The experiment was tried on Lord Lichfield's regiment, and all those who hesitated in complying with his Majesty's commands were commanded to lay down their arms: the whole regiment, except two captains and a few Catholic soldiers, actually laid down their arms. The King was thunderstruck; and, after a gloomy moment of silence, ordered them to take up their muskets, saying, "that he should not again do them the honour to consult them."^c When the troops returned from the encampment to their quarters, another plan was attempted for securing their fidelity, by the introduction of trustworthy recruits. With this view, fifty Irish Catholics were ordered to be equally distributed among the ten companies of the Duke of Berwick's regiment at Portsmouth, which, having a colonel incapacitated by law, was expected to be better disposed to the reception of recruits liable to the same objection. But the experiment was too late, and conducted with a slow formality alien from the genius of soldiers. The officers were now actuated by the same sentiments with their own class in society. Beaumont, the lieutenant-colonel, and the five captains who were present, positively refused to comply. They were brought from Windsor under an escort of cavalry, tried by a council of war, and sentenced to be cashiered. The King relented, or rather faltered. He offered

* Ellis, ix. News Letter, iii.

^b Johnst. 2d July. Oldmix. i. 729.

^c Kennet, iii. 516. Ralph speaks doubtfully of this scene, of which, indeed, no writer has mentioned the place or time. The written test is confirmed by Johnstone, and Kennet could hardly have been deceived about the sequel. The place must have been the camp at Hounslow, and the time was probably about the middle of July.

pardon, on condition of obedience; a fault as great as the original attempt. They all refused. The greater part of the other officers of the regiment threw up their commissions; and, instead of intimidation, a great and general discontent was spread throughout the army. To the odium incurred by an attempt to recruit it from those who were deemed the most hostile of foreign enemies, was superadded the contempt which feebleness in the execution of obnoxious designs never fails to inspire.^a

Thus, in the short space of three years from the death of Monmouth and of the destruction of his adherents, when all who were not zealously attached to the Crown seemed to be dependent on its mercy, were all ranks and parties of the English nation, without any previous show of turbulence, and with not much of that cruel oppression of individuals which is usually necessary to awaken the passions of a people, slowly and almost imperceptibly conducted to the brink of a great revolution. The appearance of the Prince of Wales filled the minds of those who believed his legitimacy with terror, and roused the warmest indignation of those who considered his supposed birth as a flagitious imposture. Instead of the government of a Protestant successor, it presented, after the death of James, no prospect but an administration certainly not more favourable to religion and liberty, under the regency of the Queen, and in the reign of a prince educated under her superintendence. These apprehensions had been brought home to the feelings of the people by the trial of the Bishops, and they at last affected even the army, the last resource of power; a tremendous weapon, which cannot burst without threatening destruction to all around, and which, if it were not sometimes happily so overcharged as to recoil on him who wields it, would rob all the slaves in the world of hope, and all the freemen of safety. The state of the other British kingdoms was not such as to abate the alarms of England. In Ireland the government of Tyrconnel was always sufficiently in advance of the English minister to keep the eyes of the nation fixed on the course which their rulers were steering.^b Its

^a Reresby, 270—272; who seems to have been a captain in this regiment. Burnet, iii. 272.

^b "I do not vindicate all that Lord Tyrconnel, and others, did in Ireland before the Revolution, which, most of any thing, brought it on. I am sensible that their carriage gave greater occasion to King James's enemies than all the other mal-administrations charged upon his government." Leslie, Answer to King's State of the Protestants, 73. Leslie is the ablest of James's apologists.

influence in spreading alarm and disaffection through the other dominions of the King, is confessed by the ablest and most zealous of his apologists. Scotland was also a mirror in which the English nation might behold their approaching doom. The natural tendency of the dispensing and suspending powers to terminate in the assumption of the whole authority of legislation, was visible in the declarations of indulgence issued in that kingdom. They did not, as in England, profess to be founded on limited and peculiar prerogatives of the King, either as the head of the Church or as the fountain of justice, nor on usages and determinations which, if they sanctioned such acts of power, at least confined them within fixed boundaries, but upon what the King himself displayed, in all its amplitude and with all its terrors, as "our sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, which all our subjects are bound to obey without reservation."^a In the exercise of this alarming power, not only were all the old oaths taken away, but a new oath, professing passive obedience, was proposed as the condition of toleration. A like declaration of 1688, besides the repetition of so high an act of legislative power as that of "annulling" oaths which the legislature had prescribed, proceeds to dissolve all the courts of justice and bodies of magistracy in that kingdom, in order that by their acceptance of new commissions conformably to the royal pleasure, they might renounce all former oaths; so that every member of them would hold his office under the suspending and even annulling powers, on the legitimacy of which the whole judicature and administration of the realm would thus exclusively rest.^b Blood had ceased to flow for religion, and the execution of Ren-

He skilfully avoids all the particulars of Tyrconnel's government; before the Revolution. That silence, and this general admission, may be considered as conclusive evidence against it.

^a Proclamation, 12th February, 1687. Woodrow, ii., App. No. cxxix. "We here in England see what we must look to. A parliament in Scotland proved a little stubborn; now *absolute power* comes to set all right; so when the closeting has gone round, we may perhaps see a parliament here; but if it chance to be untoward, then our reverend Judges will copy from Scotland, and will discover to us this new mystery of absolute power, which we are all obliged to obey without reserve." Burnet's Reflections on Proclam. for Toleration. Eighteen Papers on Affairs of State, 10. Lond. 1689.

^b Proclamation, 15th May. Woodrow, ii., App. No. cxxxviii. Fountainhall, i. 504. The latter writer informs us, that "this occasioned several sheriffs to forbear awhile." Perth, the Scotch chancellor, who carried this Declaration to Scotland, assured the nuncio, before leaving London, "that the royal prerogative was then so extensive as not to require the concurrence of parliament, which was only an useful corroboration." D'Adda, 11 (21) May, 1688.

wick," a pious and intrepid minister, who, according to the principles of the most zealous party among the Presbyterians,^b openly denied James II. to be his rightful sovereign, is rather an apparent than real exception; for the offence imputed to him was not of a religious nature, and must have been punished by every established authority, though an impartial observer would rather regret the imprudence than question the justice of such a declaration from the mouths of these persecuted men. Books against the King's religion were reprehended or repressed by the Privy Council.^c Barclay, the celebrated Quaker, was at this time in such favour, that he not only received a liberal pension, but had influence enough to procure an indecent but successful letter from the King to the Court of Session, in effect annulling a judgment for a large sum of money against Sir Ewen Cameron, a bold and fierce chieftain, who was the brother-in-law of the accomplished and pacific apologist.^d Though the clergy of the Established Church had two years before resisted an unlimited toleration by prerogative, yet we are assured by a competent witness, that their opposition arose chiefly from the fear that it would encourage the unhappy Presbyterians, then almost entirely ruined, and scattered through the world.^e The deprivation of two prelates, Bruce, Bishop of Dunkeld, for his conduct in Parliament, and Cairncross, Archbishop of Glasgow, in spite of subsequent submission, for not censuring a preacher against the Church of Rome,^f showed the English clergy that suspensions like that of Compton might be followed by more decisive measures, but seems to have silenced the complaints of the Scottish Church. From that time, at least, their resistance to the Court entirely ceased. It was followed by symptoms of an opposite disposition. Among these may probably be reckoned the otherwise inexplicable return to the office of Lord Advocate of the eloquent Sir George Mackenzie, their principal instrument in the cruel persecution of the Presbyterians, who now accepted that station^g at the moment of the triumph of those princi-

^a 17th February, 1688. Fountainhall. Woodrow.

^b Called Cameronians.

^c A bookseller in Edinburgh, "threatened for publishing an account of the persecution in France." Fountainhall, 8th Feb. 1688. Cockburn, a minister, forbidden to continue a Review, taken chiefly from Le Clerc's "Bibliothèque Universelle," containing some Extracts from Mabillon's *Iter Italicum*, which were supposed to reflect on the Church of Rome.

^d Fountainhall, 2d June, 1688.

^e Balcanrass, *Affairs of Scotland*, 8. Lond. 1711.

^f Skinner, *Eccles. Hist. of Scotland*, ii. 500—504.

^g 23d Feb. 1688. Fountainhall.

ples which he had forfeited the same office by opposing two years before. The Primate prevailed on the University of St. Andrews to declare, by an address to the King, their opinion that he might take away the penal laws without the consent of Parliament.^a No manifestation of sympathy appears to have been made towards the English Bishops, at the moment of their danger or of their triumph, by their brethren in Scotland. At a subsequent period, when the Prelates of England offered wholesome and honest counsel to their Sovereign, those of Scotland presented an address to him, in which they prayed that "God might give him the hearts of his subjects and the necks of his enemies."^b In the awful struggle in which the English nation and Church were about to engage, they had to number the Established Church of Scotland among their enemies.

CHAPTER X.

Doctrine of Obedience.—Right of Resistance.—Comparison of Foreign and Civil War.—Right of calling Auxiliaries.—Relations of the People of England and of Holland.

THE time was now come when the people of England were called upon to determine, whether they should by longer submission sanction the usurpations and encourage the further encroachments of the Crown, or take up arms against the established authority of their Sovereign for the defence of their legal rights, as well as of those safeguards which the constitution had placed around them. Though the solution of this tremendous problem requires the calmest exercise of reason, the circumstances which bring it forward commonly call forth mightier agents, which disturb and overpower the action of the understanding. In conjunctures so awful, where men feel more than they reason, their conduct is chiefly governed by the boldness or wariness of their nature, by their love of liberty or their attachment to quiet, by their proneness or slowness to fellow-feeling with their countrymen. The generous virtues and turbulent passions rouse the brave and aspiring to resistance; some

^a Fountainhall, 29th March, 1688.

^b 3d Nov. 1688. Skinner, ii. 519.

gentle virtues and useful principles second the qualities of human nature in disposing many to submission. The duty of legal obedience seems to forbid that appeal to arms which the necessity of preserving law and liberty allows, or rather demands. In such a conflict there is little quiet left for moral deliberation. Yet by the immutable principles of morality, and by them alone, must the historian try the conduct of all men, before he allows himself to consider all the circumstances of time, place, opinion, example, temptation, and obstacle, which, though they never authorise a removal of the everlasting landmarks of right and wrong, ought to be well weighed, in allotting a due degree of commendation or censure to human actions.

The English law, like that of most other countries, lays down no limits of obedience. The clergy of the Established Church, the authorised teachers of public morality, carried their principles much farther than was required by a mere concurrence with this cautious silence of the law. Not content with inculcating, in common with all other moralists, religious or philosophical obedience to civil government as one of the most essential duties of human life, the English Church perhaps alone had solemnly pronounced that in the conflict of obligations no other rule of duty could, under any circumstances, become more binding than that of allegiance. Even the duty which seems paramount to every other, that which requires every citizen to contribute to the preservation of the community, ceased, according to their moral system, to have any binding force, whenever it could not be performed without resistance to established government. Regarding the power of a monarch as more sacred than the paternal authority from which they vainly laboured to derive it, they refused to nations oppressed by the most cruel tyrants* those rights of self-defence which no moralist or lawgiver had ever denied to children against unnatural parents. To palliate the extravagance of thus representing obedience as the only duty without an exception, an appeal was made to the divine origin of government, as if every other moral rule were not, in the opinion of all theists, equally enjoined and sanctioned by the Deity. To denote these singular doctrines, it was thought necessary to devise the terms of passive obedience and non-resistance, uncouth and jarring forms of speech, not unfitted re-

* Interpretation of Romans, xiii. 1—7., written under Nero. Among many others, South, Sermon, 5th Nov. 1663.

presenting a violent departure from the general judgment of mankind. This attempt to exalt submission so high as to be always the highest duty, constituted the undistinguishing loyalty of which the Church of England boasted as her exclusive attribute, in contradistinction to the other reformed communions, as well as to the Church of Rome. At the dawn of the Reformation it was promulgated in the homilies or discourses appointed by the Church to be read from the pulpit to the people,^a and all deviations from it had been recently condemned by the University of Oxford with the solemnity of a decree from Rome or from Trent.^b The seven Bishops themselves, in the very petition which brought the contest with the Crown to a crisis, boasted of the inviolable obedience of their church, and of the honour conferred on them by the King's repeated acknowledgments of it. Nay, all the ecclesiastics and the principal laymen of the Church had recorded their adherence to the same principles, in a still more solemn and authoritative mode. By the Act of Uniformity,^c which restored the legal establishment of the episcopal church, it was enacted that every clergyman, school-master, and private tutor should subscribe a declaration, affirming that "it was not lawful on any pretext to take up arms against the King," which members of corporation^d and officers of militia^e were by other statutes of the same period compelled to swear; to say nothing of the still more comprehensive oath which the high-Church leaders, thirteen years before the trial of the Bishops, had laboured to impose on all public officers; magistrates, ecclesiastics, and members of both Houses of Parliament.

That no man can lawfully promise what he cannot lawfully do, is a self-evident proposition. That there are some duties superior to others, will be denied by no one; and that when a contest arises the superior ought to prevail, is implied in the terms by which the duties are described. It can hardly be doubted that the highest obligation of a citizen is that of contributing to preserve the community; and that every other political duty, even that of obedience to the magistrates, is derived from and must be subordinate to it. It is a necessary consequence of these simple truths, that no man who deems self-defence lawful in his own case, can, by any engagement, bind himself not to defend his country against foreign

^a Homilies of Edw. VI. and Eliz.
^b 14 Ch. II. c. 4.
^c 14 Ch. II. c. 3.

^b Parl. Hist. 20th July, 1683.
^d 13 Ch. II. st. ii. c. 1.

or domestic enemies. Though the opposite propositions really involve a contradiction in terms, yet declarations of their truth were imposed by law, and oaths to renounce the defence of our country were considered as binding, till the violent collision of such pretended obligations with the security of all rights and institutions awakened the national mind to a sense of their repugnance to the first principles of morality. Maxims, so artificial and overstrained, which have no more root in nature than they have warrant from reason, must always fail in a contest against the affections, sentiments, habits, and interests, which are the motives of human conduct, leaving little more than compassionate indulgence to the small number who conscientiously cling to them, and fixing the injurious imputation of inconsistency on the great body who forsake them for better guides.

The war of a people against a tyrannical government may be tried by the same tests which ascertain the morality of a war between independent nations. The employment of force in the intercourse of reasonable beings is never lawful, but for the purpose of repelling or averting wrongful force. Human life cannot lawfully be destroyed, or assailed, or endangered, for any other object than that of just defence. Such is the nature and such the boundary of legitimate self-defence, in the case of individuals. Hence the right of the lawgiver to protect unoffending citizens by the adequate punishment of crimes: hence, also, the right of an independent state to take all measures necessary to her safety, if it be attacked or threatened from without; provided always that reparation cannot otherwise be obtained, that there is a reasonable prospect of obtaining it by arms, and that the evils of the contest are not probably greater than the mischiefs of acquiescence in the wrong; including, on both sides of the deliberation, the ordinary consequences of the example, as well as the immediate effects of the act. If reparation can otherwise be obtained, a nation has no necessary, and therefore no just cause of war; if there be no probability of obtaining it by arms, a government cannot, with justice to their own nation, embark it in war; and if the evils of resistance should appear, on the whole, greater than those of submission, wise rulers will consider an abstinence from a pernicious exercise of right as a sacred duty to their own subjects, and a debt which every people owes to the great commonwealth of mankind, of which they and their enemies are alike members. A war is just

against the wrongdoer when reparation for wrong cannot otherwise be obtained ; but it is then only conformable to all the principles of morality, when it is not likely to expose the nation by whom it is levied to greater evils than it professes to avert, and when it does not inflict on the nation which has done the wrong sufferings altogether disproportioned to the extent of the injury. When the rulers of a nation are required to determine a question of peace or war, the bare justice of their case against the wrongdoer never can be the sole, and is not always the chief, matter on which they are morally bound to exercise a conscientious deliberation. Prudence in conducting the affairs of their subjects is, in them, a part of justice.

On the same principles the justice of a war made by a people against their own judgment must be examined. A government is entitled to obedience from the people, because without obedience it cannot perform the duty, for which alone it exists, of protecting them from each other's injustice. But when a government is engaged in systematically oppressing a people, or in destroying their securities against future oppression, it commits the same species of wrong towards them which warrants an appeal to arms against a foreign enemy. A magistrate who degenerates into a systematic oppressor shuts the gates of justice on the people, and thereby restores them to their original right of defending themselves by force. As he withholds the protection of law from them, he forfeits his moral claim to enforce their obedience by the authority of law. Thus far civil and foreign war stand on the same moral foundation. The principles which determine the justice of both against the wrongdoer are, indeed, throughout, the same. But there are certain peculiarities, of great importance in point of fact, which in other respects permanently distinguish them from each other. The evils of failure are greater in civil than in foreign war. A body of insurgents is exposed to ruin. The probabilities of success are more difficult to calculate in cases of internal contest than in a war between states, where it is easy to compare those merely material means of attack and defence which may be measured or numbered. An unsuccessful revolt strengthens the power and sharpens the cruelty of the tyrannical ruler, while an unfortunate war may produce little of the former evil and of the latter nothing. It is almost peculiar to intestine war that success may be as mischievous as defeat. The victorious leaders may be borne along by the current of events far beyond their destination ; a govern-

ment may be overthrown which ought to have been repaired ; and a new, perhaps a more formidable, tyranny may spring out of victory. A regular government may stop before its fall becomes precipitate, or check a career of conquest when it threatens destruction to itself. But the feeble authority of the chiefs of insurgents is rarely able, in the one case, to maintain the courage, in the other to repress the impetuosity, of their voluntary adherents. Finally, the cruelty and misery incident to all warfare are greater in domestic dissension than in contests with foreign enemies. Foreign wars have little effect on the feelings, habits, or condition of the majority of a great nation, to most of whom the worst particulars of them may be unknown. But civil war brings the same or worse evils into the heart of a country and into the bosom of many families: it eradicates all habits of recourse to justice and reverence for law; its hostilities are not mitigated by the usages which soften wars between nations; it is carried on with the ferocity of parties who apprehend destruction from each other; and it may leave behind it feuds still more deadly, which may render a country depraved and wretched through a long succession of ages. As it involves a wider waste of virtue and happiness than any other species of war, it can only be warranted by the sternest and most dire necessity. The chiefs of a justly disaffected party are unjust to their fellows and their followers, as well as to all the rest of their countrymen, if they take up arms in a case where the evils of submission are not more intolerable, the impossibility of reparation by pacific means more apparent, and the chances of obtaining it by arms greater than are necessary to justify the rulers of a nation towards their own subjects for undertaking a foreign war. A wanton rebellion, when considered with the aggravation of its ordinary consequences, is one of the greatest of crimes. The chiefs of an inconsiderable and ill-concerted revolt however provoked, incur the most formidable responsibility to their followers and their country. An insurrection rendered necessary by oppression, and warranted by a reasonable probability of a happy termination, is an act of public virtue, always environed with so much peril as to merit admiration.

In proportion to the degree in which a revolt spreads over a large body till it approaches unanimity, the fatal peculiarities of civil war are lessened. In the insurrection of provinces, either distant or separated by natural boundaries, more especially if the inhabitants, differing in religion and language, are rather subjects

of the same government than portions of the same people, hostilities which are waged only to sever a legal tie may assume the regularity, and in some measure the mildness, of foreign war. Free men, carrying into insurrection those habits of voluntary obedience to which they have been trained, are more easily restrained from excess by the leaders in whom they have placed their confidence. Thus far it may be affirmed, happily for mankind, that insurgents are most humane where they are likely to be most successful. But it is one of the most deplorable circumstances in the lot of man, that the subjects of despotic governments, and still more those who are doomed to personal slavery, though their condition be the worst, and their revolt the most just against their tyrants, are disabled to conduct it to a result beneficial to themselves by the very magnitude of the evils under which they groan; for the most fatal effect of the yoke is, that it darkens the understanding and debases the soul, and that the victims of long oppression, who have never imbibed any noble principle of obedience, throw off every curb when they are released from the chain and the lash. In such wretched conditions of society, the rulers may, indeed, retain unlimited power as the moral guardians of the community, while they are conducting the arduous process of gradually transforming slaves into men; they cannot justly retain it without that purpose, or longer than its accomplishment requires; and the extreme difficulty of such a reformation, as well as the dire effects of any other emancipation, ought to be deeply considered, as proofs of the enormous guilt of those who introduce any kind or degree of unlimited power, as well as of those who increase, by their obstinate resistance, the natural obstacles to the pacific amendment of evils so tremendous.

The frame of the human mind, and the structure of civilised society, have adapted themselves to the important differences between civil and foreign war. Such is the force of the considerations which have been above enumerated; so tender is the regard of good men for the peace of their native country, so numerous are the links of interest and habit which bind those of a more common sort to an establishment, so difficult and dangerous is it for the bad and bold to conspire against a tolerably vigilant administration; the evils which exist in moderate governments appear so tolerable, and those of absolute despotism so incorrigible, that the number of unjust wars between states unspeakably sur-

passes those of wanton rebellions against the just exercise of authority. Though the maxim, that there are no unprovoked revolts, ascribed to the Duc de Sully, and adopted by Mr. Burke,* cannot be received without exceptions, it must be owned that in civilised times mankind have suffered less from a mutinous spirit than from a patient endurance of bad government.

Neither can it be denied that the objects for which revolted subjects take up arms do, in most cases, concern their safety and well-being more deeply than the interests of states are in general affected by the legitimate cause of regular war. A nation may justly make war for the honour of her flag, or for dominion over a rock, if the one be insulted, and the other be unjustly invaded; because acquiescence in the outrage or the wrong may lower her reputation, and thereby lessen her safety. But if these sometimes faint and remote dangers justify an appeal to arms, shall it be blamed in a people who have no other chance of vindicating the right to worship God according to their consciences, to be exempt from imprisonment and exaction at the mere will and pleasure of one or a few, to enjoy as perfect a security for their persons, for the free exercise of their industry, and for the undisturbed enjoyment of its fruits, as can be devised by human wisdom under equal laws and a pure administration of justice? What foreign enemy could do a greater wrong to a community than the ruler who would reduce them to hold these interests by no higher tenure than the duration of his pleasure? What war can be more necessary than that which is waged in defence of ancient laws and venerable institutions, which, as far as they were suffered to act, had for ages approved themselves to be the guard of all these sacred privileges, the shield which protects reason in her fearless search of truth, and conscience in the performance of her humble duty towards God; the spur which rouses to the utmost every faculty of man; the nursery of genius and valour, the spur of probity, humanity, and generosity?

As James was unquestionably an aggressor, and the people of England drew their swords only to prevent him from accomplishing a revolution which should change a legal and limited power into lawless despotism, it is needless, on this occasion, to moot the question, whether arms may be as justly wielded to obtain as to defend

* L'Ecluse, Mém. de Sully. Burke, Thoughts on the present Discontents.

liberty. It may, however, be observed, that the rulers who obstinately persist in withholding from their subjects securities for good government, obviously necessary for the permanence of that blessing, generally desired by competently informed men, and capable of being introduced without danger to public tranquillity, appear thereby to place themselves in a state of hostility against the nation whom they govern. Wantonly to prolong a state of insecurity seems to be as much an act of aggression as to plunge a nation into that state; when a people discover their danger, they have a moral claim on their governors for security against it. As soon as a distemper is discovered to be dangerous, and a safe and effectual remedy has been found, those who withhold the remedy are as much morally answerable for the deaths which may ensue as if they had administered poison.

But though a reformatory revolt may in these circumstances become perfectly just, it has not the same likelihood of a prosperous issue with those insurrections which are more strictly and directly defensive: A defensive revolution, of which the sole purpose is to preserve and secure the laws, has a fixed boundary, conspicuously marked out by the well-defined object which it pursues, and which it seldom permanently over-reaches; and is thus exempt from that succession of changes which disturbs all habits of peaceable obedience, and weakens every authority not resting on mere force. Whenever war is justifiable, it is lawful to call in auxiliaries. But though always legitimate against a foreign or domestic enemy, it is often in civil contentions peculiarly dangerous to the wronged people themselves. It exposes them to the peril of becoming the slaves of the foreign prince who enters as their ally; it must always hazard national independence, and will therefore be the last resource of those who love their country. Good men, more especially if they are happy enough to be the natives of a civilised, and still more of a free country, religiously cultivate their natural repugnance to a remedy of which despair alone can warrant the employment. Yet the dangers of seeking foreign aid vary extremely in different circumstances. These variations are chiefly regulated by the power, the interest, and the probable disposition of the auxiliary to become an oppressor. The perils are the least where the inferiority of national strength in the foreign ally is such as to forbid all projects of conquest, and where the independence and great-

ness of the nation to be succoured are the main or sole bulwarks of his own.

These fortunate peculiarities were all to be found in the relations between the people of England and the republic of the United Provinces; and the two nations were further united by their common apprehensions from France, by no obscure resemblance of national character, by the strong sympathies of religion and liberty, by the remembrance of the renowned reign in which the glory of England was founded on her aid to Holland, and perhaps, also, by the esteem for each other which both these maritime nations had learned in the fiercest and most memorable combats which had been then celebrated in the annals of naval warfare.

The British people derived a new security against the dangers of foreign interposition from the situation of him who was to be the chief of the enterprise to be attempted for their deliverance, who had as deep an interest in their safety and well-being as in those of the nation whose forces he was to lead to their aid. William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the republic of the United Provinces, was, before the birth of the Prince of Wales, first prince of the blood royal of England; and his consort, the Lady Mary, the eldest daughter of the King, was at that period presumptive heiress to the crown. It is now, then, time to turn our attention towards that great man, the deliverer of Holland and the preserver of Europe; from whom alone the people of England hoped for deliverance, and who, without their powerful aid, would have been unable to secure the independence of civilised nations, the sole object of his glorious life.

CHAPTER XI.

Extraction of the House of Orange.—Review of the Struggles in the Netherlands.—Character, Situation, and Projects of William III.—Intrigues of Charles II.—Fate of the War.—Results of the Treaty of Nimeguen.—Aggrandisement of Louis XIV.—Austria.—The Netherlands.—England.—Popish Plot.—Bill of Exclusion.—Connexion of English Affairs with William's Policy.

THE house of Nassau stood conspicuous, at the dawn of modern history, among the noblest of the ruling families of Germany. In the thirteenth century, Adolphus of Nassau succeeded Rodolph of Hapsburg in the imperial crown, the highest dignity of the Christian world. A branch of this ancient house acquired ample possessions in the Netherlands, together with the principality of Orange in Provence; and under Charles V., William of Nassau was the most potent lord of the Burgundian provinces. Educated in the palace and almost in the chamber of the emperor, he was nominated in the earliest years of manhood to the government of Holland and the command of the imperial army by that sagacious monarch, who, in the memorable solemnity of abdication,^b leant upon his shoulder as the first of his Belgic subjects. The same eminent qualities which recommended him to the confidence of Charles awakened the jealousy of Philip II., whose anger, breaking through all the restraints of his wonted simulation, burst into furious reproaches against the Prince of Orange as the fomentor of the resistance of the Flemings to the destruction of their privileges. Among the three rulers who, perhaps unconsciously, were stirred up at the same moment to preserve the civil and religious liberties of mankind, William I. must be owned to have wanted the brilliant and attractive qualities of Henry IV., and to have yielded to the commanding genius of Elizabeth; but his principles were more inflexible than those of the amiable hero, and his mind was undis-

* By the ancient name of Stadthouder (whence the English term Stadtholder) or Lieutenant of Holland. Kluyt, *Vetus Jus Pub. Belg.* p. 364.; and Wagenaar, *Vaderland. Hist.*, in many places.

^b 25th Oct. 1555, when the Prince of Orange had entered his twenty-third year.

turbed by the infirmities and passions which lowered the illustrious queen. Though he performed great actions with weaker means than theirs, his course was more unspotted. Faithful to the King of Spain as long as the preservation of the commonwealth allowed, he counselled the Duchess of Parma against all the iniquities by which the Netherlands were lost; but faithful also to his country, in his dying instructions he enjoined his son to beware of insidious offers of compromise from the Spaniard, to adhere to his alliance with France and England, to observe the privileges of provinces and towns, and to conduct himself in all things as became the chief magistrate of the republic.^a Advancing a century beyond his contemporaries in civilised wisdom, he braved the prejudices of the Calvinistic clergy, contending for the toleration of Catholics, of whom the chiefs had sworn his destruction.^b Thoughtful, of unconquerable spirit, persuasive though taciturn, of simple character, yet maintaining due dignity and becoming magnificence in his public character, an able commander and a wise statesman, he is perhaps the purest of those who have risen by arms from private station to supreme authority, and the greatest of the happy few who have enjoyed the glorious fortune of bestowing liberty upon a people.^c The whole struggle of this illustrious prince was against foreign oppression. His posterity, less happy, were engaged in domestic broils, partly arising from their undefined authority, and from the very complicated constitution of the commonwealth, of which a general outline seems necessary to be inserted in this place.

The seven provinces who established their independence made little change in their internal institutions. The revolt against Philip's personal commands was long carried on under colour of his legal authority, conjointly exercised by his lieutenant, the Prince of Orange, and, by the states, composed of the nobility and of the deputies of towns, who had before shared a great portion of it. But, being bound to each other by an indissoluble confederacy, established at Utrecht in 1579, the care of their foreign relations

^a D'Estrades, from his MSS. in the hands of his youngest son.

^b Burnet, i. 547.

^c Even Strada himself bears one testimony to this great man, which outweighs all his vain reproaches. "*Nec postea mutavere (Hollandi) qui videbant et gloriabantur ab unius hominis conatu ceptisque illi utcumque infelicibus assurgere in dies Hollandicum nomen imperiumque.*" Strada de Bello Belgico. Dec. ii. lib. v., sub ann. 1564.

and of all their common affairs was entrusted to delegates, sent from each, who gradually assumed the name of States-general, which had been originally bestowed only on the occasional assemblies of the whole states of all the Belgic provinces. These arrangements, hastily adopted in times of confusion, drew no distinct lines of demarcation between the provincial and federal authorities. Hostilities had been for many years carried on before the authority of Philip was finally abrogated; and after that decisive measure the states showed considerable disposition to the revival of a monarchical power in the person of an Austrian or French prince, or of the Queen of England. William I. seems about to have been invested with the ancient legal character of Earl of Holland at the moment of his murder.^a He and his successors were Stadtholders of the greatest provinces, and sometimes of all; they exercised in that character a powerful influence on the election of the magistrates of towns; they commanded the forces of the confederacy by sea and land; they combined the prerogatives of their ancient magistracy with the new powers, of which the necessities of war seemed to purify the assumption, and they became engaged in constant disputes with the great bodies, whose pretensions to an undivided sovereignty were as recent and as little defined as their own rights. The province of Holland formed the main strength of the confederacy; the city of Amsterdam predominated in the councils of that province. The provincial states of Holland, and the patricians in the towns from whom their magistrates were selected, were the aristocratical antagonists of the Stadtholderian power, which chiefly rested on official patronage, on military command, on the favour of the populace, and on the influence of the minor provinces in the States-general. Maurice, the eldest Protestant son of William, surpassed his father in military genius, but fell far short of him in that moderation of temper and principle which is the most indispensable virtue of the leader of a free state. The blood of Barneveldt and the dungeon of Grotius have left an indelible stain on his memory; nor is it without apparent reason^b that the aristocratical party have charged him with projects of usurpation natural to a family of republican magistrates allied by blood to all the kings of Europe, and

^a Pectel, *Comm. de Repub. Batav.*, ii. 42, 43. Lugd. 1706.

^b Aubery Dumauiet. *Mémoires de la Hollande*, 293. Vanderrynkt. *Troubles des Pays-Bas*, iii. 27.

distinguished by many approaches and pretensions to the kingly power, which they were always tempted and sometimes provoked to pursue. Henry Frederick, his successor, was the son of William I. by Louise de Coligny; a woman singular in her character as well as in her destiny; who, having seen her father and the husband of her youth murdered at the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, was doomed to witness the fall of a more illustrious husband by the hand of an assassin of the same faction, and who in her last widowhood earned the affection of William's children by former wives, so as to ensure their protection to a son whom she inspired with her own virtues. Having maintained the fame of his family in war, he was happier than his more celebrated brother in a domestic administration, which was moderate, tolerant, and unsuspected.^a He lived to see the final recognition of Dutch independence by the treaty of Munster, and was succeeded by his son, William II., who, after a short and turbulent rule, died in 1650, leaving his widow, the Princess Royal of England, pregnant, who was delivered of her only child, William III., on the 14th of November, 1650, eight days after the death of his father. This posthumous orphan, of feeble frame, with early indications of distemper, seemed to be involved in the cloud of misfortune which then covered the deposed and exiled family of his mother. The patricians of the commercial cities, who had gathered strength with their rapidly increasing wealth, were incensed at the late attack of William II. on Amsterdam; they were emboldened by the establishment of a republic in England, and prejudiced, not without reason, against the Stuart family, whose absurd principle of the divine right of kings always disposed James I. to regard the Dutch as no better than successful rebels,^b and led his son, in 1631, a period of profound peace and professed friendship with Holland, to conclude a secret treaty with Spain for the partition of the Republic, in which England was to be rewarded for treachery and rapine by the sovereignty of Zealand.^c Under these circumstances the aristocratical republicans found no difficulty in persuading the States to assume all the authority hitherto exercised by the Stadtholder, without fixing any period for con-

^a D'Estrades, i. 55. Aubery Dumaourier.

^b "In his table discourse he pronounced the Dutch to be rebels, and condemned their cause, and said that *Ostend belonged* to the Archduke." Carte, iii. 714.

^c Clarendon, State Papers, i. 49., and ii. App. xxvii.

ferring on the infant Prince the dignities which had been enjoyed by three generations of his family. At the peace of 1654, the States of Holland bound themselves by a secret article, yielded with no great reluctance to the demands of Cromwell, never to choose the Prince of Orange to be their Stadtholder, nor to consent to his being appointed Captain-general of the forces of the confederacy; a separate stipulation, at variance with the spirit of the union of Utrecht, and disrespectful to the judgment of the weaker confederates, if not injurious to their rights.^a After the Restoration, however, this engagement lost its power. But when the prince of Orange had nearly reached years of discretion, and when the brilliant operations of a military campaign against England had given new vigour to the republican administration, John De Witt, who, under the modest title of pensionary of Holland, had long directed the affairs of the confederacy with a success and reputation due to his matchless honesty and prudence,^b prevailed on the States of Holland to pass a law, entitled, "A perpetual Edict for the Maintenance of Liberty," by which they abolished the Stadtholdership in their own province, and agreed to take effectual means to obtain from their confederates edicts excluding all those who may be Captain-generals from the Stadtholdership of any of the provinces, binding themselves and their successors by oath to observe these provisions, and imposing the like oath on all who may be appointed to the chief command by land or sea.^c Guelderland, Utrecht, and Overysse acceded. Friesland and Groningen, then governed by a Stadtholder of another branch of the family of Nassau, were considered as not immediately interested in the question. Zealand alone, devoted to the House of Orange, resisted the separation of the supreme military and civil offices. On this footing De Witt professed his readiness to confer the office of Captain-general on the Prince, as soon as he should be of fit age. He was allowed to take his seat in the Council

^a Cromwell was prevailed upon to content himself with this separate stipulation, very imperfect in form, but which the strength of the ruling province rendered in substance sufficient. Whitelock, *Memor.*, 12th May, 1654.

^b It can hardly be injurious to the memory even of this great man, to appeal to the testimony of Sir William Temple, a man of such sense and integrity, who was generally opposed in politics to De Witt, and who wrote after his death. Temple on the United Provinces, chap. iv.

^c 3d August, 1667. The immediate occasion of this edict seems to have been a conspiracy, for which one Buat, a spy employed by Lord Arlington, was executed in 1666. *Hist. de J. D. De Witt*, liv. ii, chap. ii. Utrecht, 1709.

of State, and took an oath to observe the perpetual edict.^a His opponents struggled to retard his military appointment, to shorten its duration, and to limit its powers. His partisans, on the other hand, supported by England, and led by Amelia of Solms, the widow of Prince Henry, a woman of extraordinary ability, who had trained the young Prince with parental tenderness, seized every opportunity of pressing forward his nomination, and of preparing the way for the enlargement of his authority. This contest might have been longer protracted, if the conspiracy of Louis and Charles, and the occupation of the greater part of the country by the army, had not brought undeserved reproach on the administration of De Witt. Fear and distrust became universal; every man suspected his neighbour; accusations were heard with greedy credulity; misfortunes were imputed to treachery, and the multitude cried aloud for human victims. The incorporate officers of the great towns, originally chosen by the burghers, had, on the usual plea of avoiding tumult, obtained the right of filling up all vacancies in their own number. They thus strengthened their power, but destroyed their security. No longer connected with the people by election, the aristocratical families received no fresh infusion of strength, and had no hold on the attachment of the community. They formed, indeed, the better part of the people; they had raised the fishermen of a few marshy districts to be one of the greatest nations of Europe. But the misfortunes of a moment banished the remembrance of their services; their grave and harsh virtues were more unpopular than vices; the needs and disasters of war served to heighten the plebeian clamour, and to strengthen the military power which formed the combined force of the Stadtholderian party. It was in vain that the republicans endeavoured to satisfy that party, and to gain over the King of England by the nomination of the Prince of Orange to be Captain-general.^b Charles was engaged in deeper designs.^c The progress of the French arms still farther exasperated the populace, and the republicans incurred the re-

^a Sir William Temple's Despatches to Lord Arlington.

^b 25th February, 1672. Wagenaar.

^c Peter de Groot, the son of Grotius, ambassador from the states at Paris, had discovered the secret treaty for the destruction of Holland concluded by the Duchess of Orleans at Dover, on the 22d of May, 1670; to which De Witt alluded in his conversations with Temple.—Summary of Treaty in Rose's Observations on Fox, collated in June, 1825, with MSS. in the possession of Lord Clifford.

proach of treachery by a disposition, perhaps carried to excess, to negotiate with Louis XIV. at a moment when all negotiation wore the appearance of submission. So it had formerly happened. Barneveldt was friendly to peace with Spain, and Maurice saw no safety but in arms. Men equally wise and honest may differ on the difficult and constantly varying question, whether uncompromising resistance, or a reservation of active effort for a more favourable season, be the best mode of dealing with a formidable conqueror. The dangers of either course are often so great that it may be hard, even after the event, to pronounce a sound judgment. Though the war policy of Demosthenes terminated in the destruction of Athens, we dare not affirm that the pacific system of Phocion would have saved it. In the contest of Maurice with Barneveldt, and of De Witt with the adherents of the House of Orange, both parties had an interest distinct from that of the commonwealth, for the influence of the States grew in peace, and the authority of the Captain-general was strengthened by war. The populace revolted against their magistrates in all the towns, and the States of Holland were compelled to repeal the edict, which they called perpetual, to release themselves and all the officers from the oath which they had taken to observe it, and to confer on the Prince the office of Stadtholder,* which they deemed it dangerous to join to the military command. In two years after the Stadtholdership, hitherto elective for life, was made hereditary to his descendants. The popular commotions which produced this revolution were stained by the murder of John and Cornelius De Witt, a crime perpetrated with such brutal ferocity, and encountered with such heroic serenity, that it may almost seem to be doubtful whether the glory of having produced such pure sufferers may not in some degree console a country for having given birth to assassins so atrocious. These excesses are singularly at variance with the calm and orderly character of the Dutch; but it is mere justice to observe, that, in the first century of their commonwealth, both the parties which divided it were fruitful in great men, who acted and suffered with equal dignity in those tragic scenes of which the contemplation strengthens and exalts human nature. Perhaps no free state has, in proportion to its magnitude, contributed more amply to the amendment of mankind by examples of public virtue.

* 4th July, 1672. Wagenaar.

The Prince of Orange, thus hurried to the supreme authority at the age of twenty-two, was ignorant of these crimes, and avowed his abhorrence of them. The murders were perpetrated more than a month after his highest advancement, when they could produce no effect but that of bringing odium upon his party. But it must be for ever deplored that the extreme danger of his position should have prevented him from punishing the offences of his partisans, till it seemed too late to violate that species of tacit amnesty which time insensibly establishes. It would be impossible ever to excuse this unhappy impunity, if we did not call to mind that Louis XIV. was at Utrecht, that the populace of the Hague had imbrued their hands in the blood of the De Witts, and that the magistrates of Amsterdam might be disposed to avenge on their country the cause of their virtuous chiefs. Henceforward the Prince directed the counsels and arms of Holland. He gradually formed and led a confederacy to set bounds to the ambition of Louis XIV. ; and he became by his abilities and dispositions, as much as by his position, the second person in Europe. From that moment, also, he began to act as a personage of the utmost importance in the internal history of England.

We possess unsuspected descriptions of his character, from observers of more than ordinary sagacity, who had an interest in watching its development, before it was surrounded by the dazzling illusions of power and fame. Among the most valuable of these witnesses were some of the subjects and servants of Louis XIV. At the age of eighteen the Prince's good sense, knowledge of affairs, and seasonable concealment of his thoughts, attracted the attention of Gourville, a man of experience and discernment. St. Evremond, though himself distinguished chiefly by vivacity and accomplishments, saw the superiority of William's powers through his silence and coldness. After long intimacy, Sir William Temple describes his great endowments and excellent qualities, his (then almost singular) combination of "charity and religious zeal," "his desire (rare in every age) to grow great rather by the service than the servitude of his country:" language so manifestly considerate, discriminating, and unexaggerated, as to bear on it the inimitable stamp of truth, in addition to the weight which it derives from the probity of the writer. But, of all those who have given opinions of the young Prince, there is none whose testimony is so important as that of Charles II. That monarch, in the early part of his reign,

was desirous of gaining an ascendant in Holland by the restoration of the House of Orange, and of subverting the government of De Witt, whom he never forgave for his share in the treaty with the English Republic.* Some retrospect is necessary, to explain the experiment by which that monarch both ascertained and made known the ruling principles of his nephew's mind.

The mean negotiations about the sale of Dunkirk betrayed to Louis XIV. the passion of Charles for French money. He, at the same time, offered to the French ambassador to aid Louis in the conquest of Flanders, on condition of receiving French succours against the revolt of his own subjects.^b He strongly expressed his desire of an offensive and defensive alliance with Louis XIV., in 1664, to Ruvigny, one of the most estimable of that monarch's agents;^c but the most pernicious of Charles's vices, never bridled by any virtue, were often mitigated by the minor vices of indolence and irresolution. Even the love of pleasure, which made him needy and rapacious, unfitted him for undertakings full of toil and peril. Projects for circumventing each other in Holland, which Charles aimed at influencing through the House of Orange, and Louis hoped to master through the republican party, retarded their secret advances to an entire union. De Witt was compelled to consent to some aggrandisement of France, rather than expose his country to a war not to be attempted without the co-operation of the King of England, who was ready to betray a hated ally. The first Dutch war appears to have arisen from the passions of both nations, and their pride of maritime supremacy; employed by Charles as instruments to obtain booty at sea, and supply from his parliament; and by Louis as the means of enabling him, without opposition, to seize the Spanish Netherlands. When that war was closed by the peace of Breda,^d the Court of England seemed for a moment to have changed its maxim, by the conclusion of the Triple Alliance, which prescribed some limits to the ambition of France;^e a system which De Witt, as soon as he met so honest a negociator as Sir William Temple, eagerly and joyfully hastened to embrace.

Temple was, however, duped by his master. It is probable that the Triple Alliance was the result of a fraudulent project, sug-

* D'Estrades, i. which contradicts Clarendon's account.

^b D'Estrades, v. 450. Ed. London, 1743.

^c Mémoire de Ruvigny au Roi. 3ème Juill. 1668. Dalrymple, ii. 11. D'Estrades, v. 18th Dec. 1664. 20th Dec. 1663.

^d July, 1667.

^e January, 1668.

gested originally by Gourville to ruin De Witt, by embroiling him with France beyond the probability of reconciliation.^a Charles made haste to disavow the intentions professed in that alliance, and to attribute the contrary appearances to the coldness with which France received his earnest and importunate proposals for a closer connexion.^b A negotiation for a secret treaty with France was immediately opened, partly by the personal intercourse of Charles with the French ministers at his court, but chiefly through his sister, the Duchess of Orleans; an amiable princess, probably the only person whom he ever loved. This correspondence, which was concealed from those of his ministers who were not either Catholics or well affected to the Catholic religion,^c lingered for about two years, till the secret treaty was concluded at Dover, in May, 1670, under cover of a visit made by the Duchess to her brother.^d The essential stipulations of this unparalleled compact were three: — that Louis should advance money to Charles, to enable him the more safely to execute what is called in the treaty “A de-

^a *Mém. de Gourville*, ii. 14—18. and 160. Ed. Paris, 1724.

^b Charles II. to Duchess of Orleans, 13 (33) Jan. 1668. Dal. ii. 5.

^c This treaty has been laid to the charge of the cabinet called the Cabal, unjustly, for, of the five members of that administration, two only, Clifford and Arlington, were privy to the designs of the King and the Duke of York. Ashley and Laud were too zealous Protestants to be trusted with it. Buckingham (whatever might be his indifference in religion) had too much levity to be trusted with such secrets, but he was so penetrating that it was thought prudent to divert his attention from the real negotiation, by engaging him in negotiating a simulated treaty, in which the articles favourable to the Catholic religion were left out. On the other hand, Lord Arundel and Sir R. Belling, Catholics, not of the Cabal, were negotiators.

^d 22 May, (1 June) 1667; signed by Lords Arlington and Arundel, Thomas Clifford, and Sir R. Belling, on the part of the King of England; and by Colbert de Croissy, the brother of the celebrated financier, on the part of France. *Rose, Observ. on Fox*, 51. Summary collated with the original, in the hands of the present Lord Clifford. The draft of the same treaty, sent to Paris by Arundel, does not materially differ. Dalrymple, ii. 44. “*The life of James II.*” i. 440—450., agrees, in most circumstances, with these copies of the treaties, and with the correspondence. There is one important variation. In the treaty it is stipulated that Charles's measures in favour of the Catholic religion should precede the war against Holland, according to the plan which he had always supported. “*The Life*” says, that the resolution was taken at Dover to begin with the war against Holland. But the despatch of Colbert from Dover 20 (30) May (Dal. ii. 57.), almost justifies the statement, which may refer to a verbal acquiescence of Charles, probably deemed sufficient in these clandestine transactions, where that prince desired nothing but such assurances as satisfy gentlemen in private life. It is true that the narrative of the Life is not here supported by those quotations from the King's original Memoirs, on which the credit of the compilation essentially depends. But as in the eighteen years, 1660—1678, which exhibits no such quotations, there are internal proofs that some passages, at least, of the Life are taken from the Memoirs, the absence of quotation does not derogate so much from the credit of this part of the work as it would from that of any other. *Edinb. Review*, xxvi. 402—430.

claration of his adherence to the Catholic religion," and support him with men and money, if that measure should be resisted by his subjects; that both powers should join their arms against Holland, the islands of Walcheren and Cadzand being allotted to England as her share of the prey, in a manner which clearly left the other territories of the Republic at the disposal of Louis; and that England should aid Louis in any new pretensions to the crown of Spain, or, in other and plainer language, enable him, on the very probable event of Charles II. of Spain dying without issue,^a to incorporate with a monarchy already the greatest in Europe the long-coveted inheritance of the House of Burgundy, and the two vast peninsulas of Italy and Spain. The strength of Louis would thus have been doubled at one blow, and all limitations to his farther progress on the Continent must have been left to his own moderation. It is hard to imagine what should have hindered him from rendering his monarchy universal in the civilised world. The port of Ostend, the island of Minorca, and the permission to conquer Spanish America, with a very vague promise of assistance of France, were assigned to England as the wages of her share of this conspiracy against mankind.

The fearful stipulations for rendering the King of England independent of Parliament, by a secret supply of foreign money, and for putting into his hands a foreign military force, to be employed against his subjects, were, indeed, to take effect only in case of the avowal of his reconciliation with the church of Rome. But as he represented it himself as a re-establishment of that Catholic Church, as he considered it as essential to the consolidation of his authority, which the mere avowal of his religion would rather have weakened, and the bare toleration of it could little, if at all, promote; as he confessedly meditated measures for quieting the alarms of the possessors of church lands, whom the simple letter of the treaty could not have much disturbed; as he proposed a treaty with the Pope to obtain the cup for the laity, and the mass in English,^b concessions which are scarcely intelligible without the supposition that the Church of Rome was to be established; as he concealed this article from Shaftesbury, who must have known his religion, and was then friendly to a toleration of it; and

^a Charles II., King of Spain, was then a feeble and distempored child of nine years old.

^b Dalry. ii. 84. Colb. 3d June, 1672.

as other articles were framed for the destruction of the only powerful Protestant state on the Continent, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the real object of this atrocious compact, however disguised under the smooth and crafty language of diplomacy, was the forcible imposition of a hated religion^a upon the British nation, to which the conspirators foresaw a national resistance, to be stifled or quelled by a foreign army. It was evident that the most tyrannical measures would have been necessary for the accomplishment of such purposes, and that the transfer of all civil, military, and ecclesiastical power to the members of a communion, who had no barrier against public hatred but the throne, must have tended to render the power of Charles absolute, and afforded him the most probable means of effectually promoting the plans of his ally for the subjugation of Europe. If the foreign and domestic objects of this treaty be considered, together with the means by which they were to have been accomplished, and the dire consequences which must have flowed from their attainment, it seems probable that so much falsehood, treachery, and mercenary meanness were never before combined in the decent formalities of a solemn compact between sovereigns, with such premeditated bloodshed and unbridled cruelty, for the purpose of overthrowing the independence of all nations, and for ever subjecting mankind to civil tyranny and religious persecution. The only semblance of virtue in the dark plot was the anxiety shown to conceal it; which, however, arose more from the fears than the shame of the conspirators. In spite of all their precautions it transpired: The secret was extorted from Turenne, in a moment of weakness, by a young mistress, as a condition of favour to an aged lover.^b He disclosed some of the secret correspondence to Puffendorf, the Swedish minister at Paris, to detach the Swedes from the triple alliance,^c and it was made known by that minister as well as

^a It is but just to mention, that Burnet mentions the "*toleration of popery*," Burn. i. 526. He had seen only Primi's history, and he seems to speak of the negotiation carried on through Buckingham, from whom we know that the full extent of the plan was concealed.

^b *Mémoires de Choisy*; and Charles II. to the Duchess of Orleans, 20th January, 1689. Dalrymple, ii. 20. Louis XIV. forgave him, observing, that lovers of sixty must purchase favour by extraordinary sacrifices. It derogates from the glory of Bossuet that this unseasonable amour should nearly coincide in time with the conversion of Turenne to the Roman Catholic communion, which was ascribed to a celebrated work of the great controversialist. The narrative of Choisy is confirmed by Ramsay, *Hist. de Turenne*, i. 429. Paris, 1735.

^c Sir W. Temple to Sir Orlando Bridgman, 24th April, 1669.

by De Groot, the Dutch ambassador at Paris, to De Witt, who had never ceased to distrust the sincerity of the Stuarts towards Holland.^a The suspicions of Temple himself were early awakened; and he seems to have in some measure played the part of a willing dupe, in the hope of entangling his master in honest alliances. The substance of the secret treaty was the subject of general conversation at the Court of England at the time of Puffendorf's discovery.^b A pamphlet published, or at least printed, in 1673, intelligibly hints at such a treaty, influenced by corruption, "about four years before."^c Not long after, Louis XIV., in a moment of dissatisfaction with Charles II., permitted or commanded the Abbate Primi to print a history of the Dutch war at Paris, which derived credit from being soon suppressed at the instance of the English minister, and which gave an almost verbally exact summary of the secret treaty, with respect to three of its objects, — the partition of Holland, the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in the British Islands, and the absolute authority of the King.^d The project for the dismemberment of Holland, adopted by Charles I. in 1631,^e appears to have been entertained by his eldest son till the last years of his reign.^f

As one of the articles of the secret treaty had provided a petty sovereignty for the Prince of Orange out of the ruins of his country, Charles took the opportunity of his nephew's visit to England, in October 1670,^g to sound him on a project which was thus baited for his concurrence. "All the Protestants," said the King "are a factious body, broken among themselves since they have been broken from the main stock. Look into these things better; do not be misled by your Dutch blockheads."^h The King immediately imparted the failure of his attempt to the French

^a De Witt observed to Temple, even in the days of the triple alliance:—"A change of councils in England would be our ruin. Since the reign of Elizabeth there has been such a fluctuation in the English councils that it has been impossible to concert measures with them for two years."

^b Pepys' Diary, 28th April, 1669. "For a sum of money we are to make a league with France. The money will so help the King that he will not need the parliament. We must leave the Dutch, and that I doubt will undo us. It will make the parliament and kingdom mad."

^c England's Appeal from the Private Cabal at Whitehall. Tracts in the reign of Car. II. London, 1689, folio.

^d State Trials in the reign of W. III., i. Introd. 10. Lond. 1705, fol.

^e Clar. State Papers.

^f MSS. Plan of a joint war against Holland in the last six months of 1662, in Lord Preston's papers, in the possession of Sir James Graham, of Netherby.

^g Evelyn's Diary, 4th Nov. 1670.

^h Burnet, i. 475.

ambassador; "I am satisfied with the Prince's abilities, but I find him too zealous a Dutchman and a Protestant to be trusted with the secret."^a But enough had escaped to disclose to the sagacious youth the purposes of his uncle, and to throw a strong light on the motives of all his subsequent measures. The inclination of Charles towards the Church of Rome could never have rendered a man so regardless of religion solicitous for a conversion, if he had not considered it as subservient to projects for the civil establishment of that church, which, as it could subsist only by his favour, must have been the instrument of his absolute power. Astonished as William was by the discovery, he had the fortitude during the life of Charles to conceal it from all but one friend, or at most two. It was reserved for later times to discover, that Charles had the inconceivable baseness to propose the detention of his nephew in England, where the temptation of a sovereignty, being aided by the recovery of his freedom, might act more powerfully on his mind; and that this proposal was refused by Louis, either from magnanimity, or from regard to decency; or, perhaps from reluctance to trust his ally with the sole disposal of so important a prisoner.^b

When the French army had advanced into the heart of Holland, the fortitude of the Prince was unshaken. Louis offered to make him sovereign of the remains of the country, under the protection of France and England. But at that moment of extreme peril, he answered, with his usual calmness, "I never will betray a trust, nor sell the liberties of my country, which my ancestors have so long defended." All around him despaired. One of his very few confidential friends, after having expostulated with him on his fruitless obstinacy, at length asked him, if he had considered how and where he should live after Holland was lost. "I have thought of that," he replied: "I am resolved to live on the lands I have left in Germany. I had rather pass my life in hunting there than sell my country or my liberty to France at any price."^c Buckingham and Arlington were sent from England to try, whether, beset by peril, the lure of sovereignty might not seduce him. The former often

^a Colbert au Roi, 4th Dec. 1670. Dalrymple, ii. 70.

^b Dalrymple, ii. 79. Summary of Letters between Colbert De Croissy and his Court in October and November, 1670. It is unfortunate that neither the originals nor extracts from them are given.

^c Temple, i. 381., folio; London, 1721. Memoirs, 1678—1679. This friend was probably his uncle Zuylenstein, for the conversation passed before his intimacy with extinct.

said, "Do you not see that the country is lost?" The answer of the Prince to the profligate buffoon spoke the same unmoved resolution with that which he had made to Zuleystein or Fagel; but it naturally rose a few degrees towards animation:—"I see it is in great danger, but there is a sure way of never seeing it lost; and that is, to die in the last ditch."* The perfect simplicity of these declarations may, perhaps, authorise us to rank them among the most genuine specimens of true magnanimity which human nature has produced. Perhaps the history of the world does not hold out a better example; how high above the reach of fortune the pure principle of obedience to the dictates of conscience, unalloyed by interest, passion, or ostentation, can raise the mind of a virtuous man. To set such an example is an unspeakably more signal service to mankind, than all the outward benefits which flow to them from the most successful virtue. It is independent of events, and it burns most brightly in adversity; the only agent, perhaps, of power to call forth the native greatness of soul which lay hid under the cold and unattractive deportment of the Prince of Orange.

His situation in 1672 was calculated to ascertain whether his actions would correspond with his declarations. Beyond the important country extending from Amsterdam to Rotterdam, a district of about forty miles in length, the narrow seat of the government, wealth, and force of the commonwealth, which had been preserved from invasion by the bold expedient of inundation, out of which the cities and fortresses arose like islands, little remained of the republican territory except the fortress of Maestricht, the marshy islands of Zealand, and the secluded province of Friesland. A French army of a hundred and ten thousand men, encouraged by the presence of Louis XIV., and commanded by Condé and Turenne, had their head-quarters at Utrecht, within about twenty miles of Amsterdam, and impatiently looked forward to the moment when the ices of winter should form a road to the spoils of that capital of the commercial world. On the other side, the hostile flag of England was seen from the coast. The Prince of Orange, a sickly youth of twenty-two, without fame or experience, had to contend against such enemies at the head of a new government, of a divided people, and a little army of twenty thousand men, either raw recruits or foreign mercenaries, whom

* Burnet, i. 569.

the exclusively maritime policy of the late administration had left without officers of skill or name. His immortal ancestor, when he founded the republic about a century before, saw at the lowest ebb of his fortune the hope of aid from England and France. Far darker were the prospects of William III. The degenerate successor of Elizabeth, abusing the ascendant of a parental relation, sought to tempt him to become a traitor to his country for a share in her spoils. The successor of Henry IV. offered him only the choice of being bribed or crushed. Such was the fear of France, that the Court of Spain did not dare to aid him, though their only hope was from his success. The German branch of the house of Austria was then entangled in a secret treaty with Louis, by which the Low Countries were ceded to him, on condition of his guaranteeing to the Emperor the reversion of the Spanish monarchy on the death of Charles II. without issue. No great statesman, no illustrious commander but Montecuculli, no able prince but the great Elector of Brandenburg, was to be found among the avowed friends or even secret well-wishers of William. The territories of Cologne and Liege, which presented all the means of military intercourse between the French and Dutch frontiers, were ruled by the creatures of Louis XIV. The final destruction of a rebellious and heretical confederacy was foretold with great, but not apparently unreasonable confidence, by the zealots of absolute authority in church and state;* and the inhabitants of Holland began seriously to entertain the heroic project of abandoning an enslaved country,

* I subjoin two specimens of the opinions and inclinations of English ministers concerning Holland at that time:—

*"Hic jaceo Batavorum celebris respublica,
Ex aquis nata, ex aquis sustentata, nunc aquis mersa.
Exiguâ iniitiis, invidendis fortuna, stupendis incrementis sic crevi,
Ut terris vix æqualam, mari vero parem minime tulerim.
Rebellibus receptaculo, periclitantibus auxilio multis adstiti.
Nunc deseror ab omnibus;
A Gallo Et Anglo contra Hispanos defensa;
Nunc ab iisdem opprimor."*

Dantzick, 30th Aug. 1672. State Paper Office.

"It is almost certain that at the rate the King of France now goeth, while I am making a circuit to find him, the country will be gone. The French are within two or three leagues of Amsterdam, which, although it hath drowned the country about it, yet the multitude of people, want of fresh water, and, above all, fear, will hinder them from doing the utmost for defence." Lord Halifax to Lord Arlington, Bruges, 3d July, 1672. Downshire MSS.

"In case of the success of the invaders, the Zealanders, all zealous Protestants, have resolved to offer themselves to England. I told the states of that province, the

and transporting the commonwealth to their dominions in the Indian islands. At this awful moment, fortune seemed to pause. The unwieldy magnificence of a royal retinue encumbered the advance of the French army. Though masters of Naerden, which was esteemed the bulwark of Amsterdam, they were too late to hinder the opening of the sluices at Murden, which drowned the country to the gates of that city. Louis, more intoxicated with triumph than intent on conquest, lost in surveying the honours of victory the time which should have been spent in seizing its fruits. Impatient of so long an interruption of his pleasures, he hastened to display at Versailles the trophies of a campaign of two months, in which the conquest of three provinces, the capture of fifty fortified places, and of 24,000 prisoners, were ascribed to him by his flatterers.* The cumbrous and tedious formalities of the Dutch constitution enabled the Stadtholder to gain some time without suspicion. Even the perfidious embassy of Buckingham and Arlington contributed somewhat to prolong negotiations. He amused them for a moment by appearing to examine the treaties they had brought from London, by which France was to gain all the fortresses which commanded the country, leaving Zealand to England, and the rest of the country as a principality to himself.^b Submission seemed inevitable and speedy, while the inundation rendered military movements inconvenient and perhaps hazardous. The Prince thus obtained a little leisure for the execution of his measures. The people, unable to believe the baseness of the Court of London, were animated by the appearance of the ministers who came to seal their ruin. The government, surrounded by the waters, had time to negotiate at Madrid, Vienna, and Berlin. The marquis de Monterey, governor of the Catholic Netherlands, without instructions from the Escorial, had the boldness to throw troops into the important

King had no fixed resolution to ruin them." The same to the same. Middleburgh, 5th July.

(The above note, when compared with the text to which it refers, may appear to the reader not quite complete, or not quite applicable. It is printed exactly as it was left by Sir James Mackintosh.)

* "More than a hundred fortresses and military posts." *Œuvres de Louis XIV.*, iii. 245.

^b The official despatches of these ambassadors are contained in a MS. volume, probably the property of Sir W. Trumbull, now in the hands of his descendant, the Marquis of Downshire. These despatches show that the worst surmises, circulated at the time, of the purposes of this embassy, were scarcely so bad as the truth. Ralph, i. 307. *et seq.* This embassy ended in a new treaty between Charles and Louis. Dumont.

fortresses of Dutch Brabant, Breda, Briga-op-Zoom, and Bois-le-Duc, under pretence of a virtual guarantee of that territory by Spain.

In England, the continuance of prorogations for two years ^a relieved the King from parliamentary opposition, but deprived him of sufficient supply; drove him to resources alike inadequate and infamous,^b and foreboded that general indignation which, after the combined fleets of England and France had been worsted by the marine of Holland ^c alone (at the very moment when the remnant of the republic seemed about to be swallowed up), compelled him to desist^d from the open prosecution of the odious conspiracy against that republic. The emperor Leopold, roused to a just sense of the imminent danger of Europe, concluded a defensive alliance with the States-general.^e The Germanic body generally manifested the same spirit. Frederic William of Brandenburg, called the Great Elector, took the field in the autumn, in consequence of a defensive alliance which he had concluded with Holland. After the commencement of hostilities,^f Turenne was compelled to march from the Dutch territory to observe, and, in case of need, to oppose, the Austrian and Brandenburg troops; and the young prince ceased to incur the risk and to enjoy the glory of being opposed to that great commander, who was the grandson of William I.,^g and had been trained to arms under Maurice. The winter of that year was unusually late and short;^h but as soon as the ice seemed sufficiently solid, Luxemburgh, who was left in command at Utrecht, advanced, in the hope of surprising the Hague. A providential thaw obliged him to retire; his operations were limited to the destruction of two petty towns; and it seems doubtful whether he did not owe his escape to the irresolution or treachery of a Dutch officer en-

^a From February, 1671, to February, 1673.

^b Shutting up the Exchequer, 2d January, 1672.1

^c Battle of Southwold Bay, 28th and 29th May, 1672. In these memorable actions even the biographer of James II. in effect acknowledges, that De Ruyter had the advantage. James II., i. 457—476. He thrice encountered the combined fleet without defeat, on the 28th May, the 4th June, and the 11th August, 1673.

^d Peace between England and Holland, 9th (19) January, 1674.

^e 25th July, 1672. Dumont, vii., par. i. 208.

^f 26th April, 1673. Id. *ibid.* 194. See also the defensive treaty between Leopold and Frederick William. Berlin, 15th (25) June, 1672. Id. *ibid.* 201. The English statesmen thought the German alliances could not save Holland:—"Not that we fear the revival of the Hollanders thereby from their desperate condition." Lord Arlington to sir B. Gascoyne. 26th July, 1672. Miscell. Aul. 74. London, 1702.

^g By Elizabeth of Nassau, Duchess of Boillon.

^h Louis XIV. complains of this hard winter.

trusted with a post which commanded the line of retreat. At the perilous moment of Luxemburgh's advance, William had the boldness to undertake a long march through Brabant to the attack of Charleroi, which he could not then hope to retain if he could have taken it. But he did more than gain a fortress, by giving spirit to his friends, and we know that his enterprise produced such an effect on his enemies as to interrupt the sleep of Louis XIV.^a In the ensuing year he began offensive operations with more outward and lasting consequences. Having deceived Luxemburgh, he recovered Naerden,^b and shortly hazarding another considerable march beyond the frontier, he captured the city of Bonn, and thus compelled Turenne to provide for the safety of his army by recrossing the Rhine. The Spanish governor of the Low Countries declared war against France; and Louis was compelled to recall his troops from Holland. Europe now rose on all sides against the monarch who not many months before appeared to be her undisputed lord. So mighty were the effects of a gallant stand by a small people, under an inexperienced chief, without a council or minister but the pensionary Fagel, the pupil and adherent of De Witt; who, actuated by the true spirit of his great master, continued faithfully to serve his country, in spite of the saddest examples of the ingratitude of his countrymen.

The deliverance of Holland in 1672, though the most signal triumph of a free people over mighty invaders since the defeat of Xerxes by the Greeks, which it even surpassed in the important circumstances that the valour of the aggressors was at least equal, while their military discipline, genius, and fame, were superior, has yet been so often related,^c and is so distantly connected with the subject of this work, that the above brief recital of it could scarcely be justified, if it had been possible otherwise to manifest the character of the most important actor in the history of England. In the six years of war which followed, a few particulars only can be mentioned here as contributing to the same end. The Prince commanded in three battles against the greatest generals of France. At Senef,^d it was a sufficient honour that he was not defeated by Condé; and that the veteran declared, on reviewing

^a Lettre du Roi à Louvois, 23d Dec. 1662,—“à une heure après minuit.”
Œuvres de Louis XIV., iii. 274.

^b September, 1673.

^c It is due to Voltaire to confess, that the passion to magnify his hero has, on this occasion, yielded to his natural feelings of humanity and justice. *Siècle de Louis XIV.* chap. xi.

^d 11th August, 1674.

the events of the day,—“The young Prince has shown all the qualities of the most experienced commander, except that he exposed his own person too much.” He was defeated without dishonour at Cassel,^a by Luxemburgh, under the nominal command of the Duke of Orleans. He gained an advantage over the same great general, after an obstinate and bloody action, at St. Denis, near Mons.^b This last battle was of more doubtful morality than any other of his military life, being fought four days after the signature of a separate treaty of peace by the Dutch plenipotentiaries at Nimeguen.^c It was not, indeed, a breach of faith, for there was no armistice, and the ratifications were not executed. It is uncertain, also, whether he had information of what passed at Nimeguen; the official despatches from the States-general reached him only the next morning. The treaty was suddenly and unexpectedly brought to a favourable conclusion by the French ministers in one day; and the Prince, who condemned it as alike offensive to good faith and sound policy, had reasonable hopes of obtaining a victory, which, if gained before the final signature, might have determined the fluctuating counsels of the States to the side of vigour and honour. He could not have hoped for this result if he had known that the treaty was signed. The morality of soldiers, even in our age, is not severe in requiring proof of the necessity of bloodshed, if the combat be fair, the event brilliant, and, more particularly, if the commander freely exposes his own life. His gallant enemies warmly applauded his attack, distinguished, as it seems eminently to have been, for the daring valour, which was brightened by the gravity and modesty of his character; and they declared it to be “the only heroic action of a six years’ war between all the great nations of Europe.” It is agreed, that if the official despatches had not hindered him from prosecuting the attack on the next day with the English auxiliaries, who must then have joined him, he was likely to have changed the fortune of the war.^d Had he been more scrupulous on this occasion, his conduct would have been more blameless; but it may be doubted whether the frames of mind which would have disposed him to yield to such scruples would have fitted him better for performing the great duty of his life.

^a 11th April, 1677.

^b 14th August, 1678.

^c Dumont, vii., p. i. 350. 10th of August; ratified at Versailles on the 18th of August, and at the Hague on the 19th of September.

^d Sir William Temple’s Memoirs, 1672—1679.

The object of the Prince and the hope of his confederates was to restore Europe to the condition in which it had been placed by the treaty of the Pyrenees.^a The result of the negotiations at Nimeguen was to add the province of Franche Comté, and the most important fortresses of the Flemish frontier, to the cessions which Louis at Aix-la-Chapelle^b had extorted from Spain. The Spanish Netherlands were thus farther stripped of their defence, the barrier of Holland weakened, and the way opened for the reduction of all the posts which face the most defenceless parts of the English coast. The acquisition of Franche Comté broke the military connexion between Lombardy and Flanders, secured the ascendant of France in Switzerland, and, together with the usurpation of Lorraine, exposed the German empire to new aggression. The ambition of the French monarch was inflamed, and the spirit of neighbouring nations broken, by the ineffectual resistance as much as by the long submission of Europe.

The ten years which followed the peace of Nimeguen were the period of his highest elevation. The first exercise of his power was the erection of three courts, composed of his own subjects, and sitting, by his authority, at Brissac, Mentz, and Besançon, to determine whether certain territories ought not to be annexed to France, which he claimed as fiefs of the provinces ceded to him by the Empire by the treaty of Westphalia. These courts, called Chambers of Union, summoned the possessors of these supposed fiefs to answer the King's complaints. The justice of the claim and the competence of the tribunals were disputed with equal reason. One of these provinces, called the three bishoprics, had been in the possession of France for more than a century. Its sovereignty, as well as that of Alsace, had been finally ceded thirty years, by the treaty of Westphalia. The crown of France had made no attempt during its possession or sovereignty to exercise those rights of paramount lordship to which claim was now laid. They had been long disused (if they really ever existed) by the ancient masters, and could not therefore be within the true construction of the cession. To revive such superannuated pretensions, even by the equal forms of negotiation, was an invasion of the principle of possession, on which the security of nations as well as of individuals alone reposes. To require foreign rulers to

^a 7th Nov. 1659. Dumont, vi., p. ii. 264.

^b 2d May, 1668. Dumont, vii., p. i. 89.

answer such a plaint before French courts, was a declaration of war against all states; more especially alarming to the multitude of weak princes and towns who formed the Germanic body. The chamber of union at Mentz decreed the confiscation of eighty fiefs, for default of appearance by the feudatories, among whom were the Kings of Spain and Sweden, and the Elector Palatine. Some petty spiritless princes actually did homage to Louis for territories, which were said to have been anciently fiefs of the see of Verdun. Under colour of a pretended judgment of one of these courts, established at Brissac,^b the city of Strasburgh, a flourishing Protestant republic, which commanded an important pass on the Rhine, was surrounded at midnight, in a time of general and profound peace, by a body of French soldiers, who compelled those magistrates who had not been previously corrupted to surrender the city to the crown of France,^c amidst the consternation and affliction of the people. On the same day, and almost at the same hour with the seizure of Strasburgh, a body of troops entered Casal, in consequence of a secret treaty with the Duke of Mantua, a dissolute and needy youth, who for a bribe of a hundred thousand pounds, betrayed into the hands of Louis that fortress, then esteemed the bulwark of Lombardy.^d Both these usurpations were in contempt of a notice from the imperial minister at Paris, against the occupation of Strasburgh, an imperial city, or Casal, the capital of Montferrat, a fief of the Empire.^e On the Belgic frontier, that monarch employed means more summary and open than pretended judgments or clandestine treaties. Taking it upon himself to determine the extent of terri-

^a Acte de Foi et Hommage rendu à la Couronne de France par le Comte de Linanges, Dum. vii., p. ii. 13.

^b Flacau, Histoire de la Diplomatie Française, iv. 59. 63.

^c *Œuv. de Louis XIV.*, iv. 194., where the original correspondence is published. The pretended capitulation is dated on the 30th September, 1681. The design against Strasburgh had been known in July. MSS. Letters of H. Saville, minister at Paris, to Sir Leoline Jenkins. Downshire Papers.

^d *Œuv. de Louis XIV.*, iv. 216, 217. Correspondence of Louvois with Boufflers and Catinat. The mutinous conscience of Catinat astonished and displeased the haughty minister. Casal had been ceded in 1678 by Matthioli, the Duke's minister, who, either moved by remorse or by higher bribes from the House of Austria, advised his master not to ratify the treaty; for which he was carried prisoner into France, and detained there in close and harsh custody. It has been lately speciously maintained that he was the famous prisoner with the iron mask, who died in the Bastille. The bargain for Casal was disguised in the diplomatic forms of a convention between the King and the Duke. Dumont, vii. p. ii. 14. An army of 15,000 men was collected in Dauphiny, at the desire of the Duke, to give his sale the appearance of necessity. Letters of H. Saville.

^e H. Saville to Sir L. Jenkins. Fontainebleau, 12th Sept. 1689.

tory ceded to him at Nimeguen, he required from the Court of Madrid the possession of such districts as he thought fit. Much was immediately yielded. Some hesitation was shown in surrendering the town and district of Alost. Louis sent his troops into the Netherlands till his demands were absolutely complied with; and he notified to the governor, that the slightest resistance would be the signal of war. Hostilities soon broke out, which made him master of Luxemburg, one of the strongest fortresses of Europe, and were terminated in the summer of 1684, by a truce for twenty years, leaving him in possession of his usurpations, and giving the sanction of Europe to principles so fruitful in wrong as those from which they sprung. To a reader of the nineteenth century, familiar with the present divisions of territory in Christendom, and accustomed to regard the greatness of France as well adapted to the whole state of the European system, the conquests of Louis XIV. may seem to have inspired an alarm disproportioned to their magnitude. Their real danger, however, will be speedily perceived by those who more accurately consider the state of surrounding countries, and the subdivision of dominion in that age. Two monarchies only of the first class existed on the Continent, as the appellation of "the two crowns," then commonly used in speaking of France and Spain, sufficiently indicate. But Spain, which, under the last Austrian king, had perhaps reached the lowest point of her extraordinary fall, was in truth no longer able to defend herself. The revenue of somewhat more than two millions sterling was inadequate to the annual expense.^a It was about one fourth of that of Louis XIV. at the same period.^b Ronquillo, the minister of this vast empire in London, was reduced to the necessity of dismissing his servants without payment.^c An invader who had the boldness to encounter the shadow of a great name had little to dread, except from the poverty, which rendered the country incapable of feeding an army.^d Naples, Lombardy, and the Catholic Netherlands, though the finest provinces of Europe, were a drain and a burden in the hands of a government sunk into imbecile dotage, and alike incapable of ruling and of maintaining these envied possessions. France had

^a Mémoires de Gourville, ii. 82. An account apparently prepared with care. I adopt the proportion of thirteen livres to the pound sterling, which is the rate of exchange given by Barillon, in 1679. Dalrymple, i. App. 314.

^b Notice sur Colbert par Lemontey: Lettre à l'Académie Française, Juin, 1822.

^c Ronquillo, MSS. Lett.

^d Gourville, in 1689.

in twenty years acquired a fourth of the Spanish Netherlands, the barrier of Holland, under pretences so slight as never to be wanting at a convenient season. While Spain, a lifeless and gigantic body, covered the South of Europe, the manly spirit and military skill of Germany were rendered of almost as little avail by the minute subdivisions of territory. From the Rhine to the Vistula, a hundred princes, jealous of each other, fearful of offending the conqueror, and often competitors for his disgraceful bounty, broke into fragments the strength of the Germanic race. The houses of Saxony and Bavaria, Brandenburg and Brunswick, Wurtemberg, Baden, and Hesse, though among the most ancient and noble of the ruling families of Europe, were but secondary states. Even the genius of the late Elector of Brandenburg did not exempt him from the necessity or the temptation of occasional compliance with Louis. From the French frontier to the Baltic, no one firm mass stood in the way of his arms. Prussia was not then a monarchy, nor Russia an European state. The conquests of France were already equal to the collective dominions of many princes, not one of whom could then be overlooked in forming a confederacy for European independence, which rendered it the bulwark of the Empire against the irruptions of the Turkish barbarians. In the south-eastern provinces of Germany, where Rodolph of Hapsburgh had laid the foundations of the greatness of his family, the younger branch had, from the death of Charles V. formed a monarchy, which, aided by the Spanish alliance, the imperial dignity, and a military position on the central frontier of Christendom, which rendered it the bulwark of the Empire against the irruptions of the Turkish barbarians, rose during the thirty years' war to such a power, that it was prevented only by Gustavus Adolphus from enslaving the whole of Germany. France, which under Richelieu had excited and aided that great prince and his followers, was hence regarded for a time as the protector of the German States against the Emperor. Bavaria, the Palatine, and the three ecclesiastical Electorates, partly from remaining jealousy of Austria, and partly from growing fear of Louis, were disposed to seek his protection and acquiesce in many of his encroachments.* This numerous, weak, timid, and mercenary body of

* The Palatine, together with Bavaria, Mentz and Cologne, promised to vote for Louis XIV. as emperor in 1658. Pfeffel, ii. 360. 4to. Paris, 1776. A more authentic and very curious account of this extraordinary negotiation, extracted from the

German princes, supplied the chief materials out of which it was possible that an alliance against the conqueror might one day be formed. On the other hand, the military power of the Austrian monarchy was crippled by the bigotry and tyranny of its princes. The persecution of the Protestants, and the attempt to establish absolute monarchy, had spread disaffection through Hungary and its vast dependencies, the main basis of their power. In a contest between one tyrant and many, where the nation in a state of personal slavery is equally disregarded by both, reason and humanity might be neutral, if reflection did not remind us, that even the contests and factions of a turbulent aristocracy call forth an energy, and magnanimity, and ability, which are extinguished under the quieter and more fatally lasting domination of a single master.

The emperor Leopold I., instigated by the Jesuits, of which order he was a lay member, rivalled and anticipated Louis XIV.^a in his cruel prosecution of the Hungarian Protestants, which drove the nation to such despair that they sought refuge in the aid of the common enemy of the Christian name. The Turks, encouraged by the revolts of the oppressed Hungarians, and stimulated by the intrigues of the Court of Versailles, which began early,^b and continued for many years, at length invaded Austria with a mighty army, and would have mastered the capital of the most noble of Christian sovereigns, had not the siege of Vienna been raised, after a duration of two months,^c by John Sobieski, King of Poland, the heroic chief of a people, whom in less than a century the House of Austria contributed to blot out of the map of nations. While these dangers impended over the Austrian monarchy, Louis XIV. had been preparing to deprive it of the imperial sceptre, which in his hands would have proved no bauble. By secret treaties to which

French archives, is published by Lemonney (*Monarchie de Louis XIV. Pièces Justif. No. 2.*), by which it appears that the Elector of Mentz betrayed Mazarin, who had distributed immense bribes to him and his fellows.

^a He banished the Protestant clergy, of whom 250, originally condemned to be stoned or burnt to death, but having under pretence, probably, of humanity, been sold to the Spaniards, were redeemed from the condition of galley slaves by the illustrious De Ruyter, after his victory over the French, on the coast of Sicily. *Cairo, House of Austria, chap. 66.*

^b Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, says, before the peace of Nimeguen; Sir William Trumbull, ambassador at Constantinople from August, 1697, to July, 1691, names French agents employed in fomenting the Hungarian rebellion, and negotiating with the Vizir. *Memorials of my Embassy at Constantinople. Downshire MSS.*

^c 14th July to 12th September, 1683.

the Elector of Bavaria was tempted to agree, in 1670, by the prospect of matrimonial alliance with the House of France, and which were imposed on the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony in 1679, after the humiliation of Europe at Nimeguen, these princes agreed to vote for Louis in case of the death of the Emperor Leopold, which his infirm health had given frequent occasion to expect. The four Rhenish electors, especially after the usurpation of Strasburgh and Luxemburgh, were in his net, and he seems to have entertained the like project for the Dauphin to a still later period.^a Such were the dangers which undermined or beset the only monarchy of the continent capable of making head against Louis.

In the United Provinces, the vanquished party, whose antipathy to the House of Orange was exasperated by the cruel fate of De Witt, sacrificed the care of the national independence to jealousy of the Stadtholderian princes, and carried their devotedness to France to an excess which there was nothing in the example of their justly revered leader to warrant.^b They obliged the Prince of Orange to accede to the unequal conditions of Nimeguen: they prevented him from making military preparations absolutely required by safety: they compelled him to submit to the truce for twenty years, which left the entrances of Flanders, Germany, and Italy, in the hands of France. They concerted all the measures of domestic opposition with the French minister at the Hague, and though there is no reason to believe that the opulent and creditable chiefs of that party, if they received French money at all, would deign to employ it for any other than what they had unhappily been misled to regard as a public purpose, there is the fullest evidence of the employment of bribes to an extent and with a success not proved to exist on any other occasion, to make known at Versailles the most secret counsels of the Commonwealth.^c Amsterdam raised troops for her own defence,^d declared her determination not to contribute towards hostilities which the measures of the general

^a Lemontey, *Nouv. Mém. de Dangeau*, 478. *Monarch. de Louis XIV. Pièces Justif.* No. 2.

^b The speed and joy with which he and Temple concluded the triple alliance seem, indeed, to prove the contrary. That treaty, so quickly concluded by two wise, accomplished, and, above all, honest men, is unparalleled in diplomatic transactions. "*Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo.*"

^c *Négociations de M. Le Comte d'Avaux en Hollande, 1679—1688.* 6 vols. 12mo. Paris, 1754, i. 13.; 23. 25. 47. 48. 86. 109. 135, &c. Examples of treachery, in some of which the secret was known only to three persons. Sometimes, copies of orders were obtained from the Prince's private repositories, ii. 53.

^d *Day.* ii. 76.

government might occasion, and entered into a secret correspondence with France, which was treated by the Prince of Orange as an act of high treason, and which, even if her claims to sovereignty were acknowledged, must be owned to be the act of a treacherous confederate. Friesland and Groningen, then under a separate Stadtholder, of a junior branch of the House of Nassau, recalled their troops from the common defence, and bound themselves, by a secret convention with Amsterdam, to act in concert with that potent and mutinous city. The signature of the truce seemed to establish the supremacy of France. The provinces of Guelderland, Overysse, Utrecht, and Zealand adhered, indeed, to the Prince, and he still preserved a majority in the States of Holland; but it consisted only of the order of nobles and of the deputies of inconsiderable towns. Fagel, his wise and faithful minister, appeared to be in danger of destruction by the republicans, who abhorred him as a deserter from their standard. But Heinsius, pensionary of Delft, probably the ablest man of that party, having, on a mission to Versailles, seen the effects of the civil and religious policy of Louis XIV., considering consistency as dependent, not on names, but on principles, thought it the duty of a friend of liberty to join the party most opposed to that monarch's designs.^b So trembling was the ascendant of the Prince in Holland, that the accession of individuals was, from their situation or ability, of great importance to him. His cousin, the Stadtholder of Friesland, was gradually gained over; and Conrad Van Benningen, one of the chiefs of Amsterdam, an able, accomplished, and disinterested republican, fickle from over-refinement, and betrayed into French councils by jealousy of the House of Orange, as soon as he caught a glimpse of the abyss into which his country was about to fall, recoiled from the brink of the precipice. He called Louis XIV. a swallower of towns and provinces.^c He assured his republican friends that the intention of the King of France could only be to deceive, to divide, to conquer; that he was a conqueror, and that it was not the nature of a conqueror to stop in the midst of his conquests. D'Avaux, pressed by such unanswerable observations, made an attempt to obviate them in a manner very unworthy of his

^a Dav. ii. 98. 16th Feb. 1684.

^b Bykershoek, who presided in the Court of Holland during the suspension of the Stadtholdership, ironically calls the impeachment of the High Pensionary of Amsterdam by the Prince of Orange, "*Crimen læsæ majestatis Orangie*."

^c Dav. i. 142.

talents. "Van Beninghen," said he, "does not know the King. He is as much above all other conquerors as they are above ordinary men."^a

Thus did the very country where the Prince of Orange held sway, fluctuate between him and Louis; inasmuch, indeed, that if that monarch had observed any treasure in his cruelty towards the French Protestants, it might have been impossible, till it was too late, to turn the force of Holland against him.

But the weakest point in the defences of European independence was England. It was not, indeed, like the continental states, either attacked by other enemies, or weakened by foreign influence, or dwindling from inward decay. The throne was filled by a traitor.

A creature of the common enemy commanded this important post. For a quarter of a century Charles II. connived at the conquests of Louis. For this long series of treasons against his own country, which could only stand or fall with Europe, he was bribed by the conqueror with money, and with the promise of a foreign military force, to impose the religion and government of France upon his subjects. The first specimen of that policy had been the sale of Dunkirk to France, by which he strengthened that country on her conquering side, and sacrificed that means of protecting the Netherlands with which Cromwell had armed England.^b Very shortly afterwards Louis was perfectly assured of Charles's subservieney.^c It was not long before the King of England besought Ravigny to procure for him a secret pecuniary treaty with the French monarch.^d The negotiations suspended by the first Dutch war were, as we have seen, most perfidiously renewed at the very moment of the triple alliance. The degenerate Charles never had the excuse of yielding to seduction. He constantly assailed Louis with the impertunity as well as venality of an abject prostitute. During the second Dutch war, he revealed to the world the designs which he was at other times compelled to dissemble. During the last fourteen years of his reign, he appears to have engaged in eight

^a Dav. iv. 13, 14.

^b There is some reason to believe that the Protector, alarmed at the progress of French conquest, had, at the moment of his death, a project of an alliance with Spain against France, in which Calais was to be the lot of England; an acquisition which, together with Dunkirk, might have prevented the conquest of Flanders.

^c "Me lier avec la dernière liaison avec l'Angleterre, ce que je puis faire du soir au lendemain." *Le Roi à D'Estrades*, 30th Dec. 1663. *D'Estr.* ii. 347.

^d Dec. 1664. Compare *D'Estrades'* despatch of 16th Dec. 1664, in *D'Estrades*, ii. 569, with Ravigny's Report to his master, 3d July, 1668. *Dalrymple*, Appendix. 11.

secret treaties for French money, to all of which his brother and probable successor was privy. More than one of these ^a were during the time in which he was acting the part of an impartial mediator in the negotiation at Nimeguen, solicitous apparently only for justice, or, if biassed, only by anxiety for the general security of Europe. During the last ten years of his reign he received a secret pension, on condition of abandoning the Continent to Louis, as well as of suspending the constitution, and violating an express law, by the intermission of parliament. ^b When, however, Louis became desirous of possessing Luxemburgh, Charles extorted an additional bribe for connivance at that new act of rapine. ^c After he had sold the fortress, he proposed himself to Spain as arbitrator in the disputes regarding it; ^d and so notorious was his perfidy, that the Spanish ministers at Paris did not scruple to justify their refusal to his ambassador, by telling him, "that they refused because they had no mind to part with Luxemburgh, which they knew was to be sacrificed if they accepted the offer." ^e After a short interruption of good understanding, Charles, in soliciting money from Louis, distinctly avowed to Barillon the ruling principle of his life,—"I should rather depend on your master than on my people." ^f The Duke of York most zealously seconded his brother:—"Not one of your Majesty's subjects," said a French ambassador to his sovereign, "wishes you more success than the two brothers." He adds, as a merit towards Louis, what is the strongest mark of the alienation of these unnatural princes from their own nation:—"But you can count only on these two friends in England." ^g Both equally betrayed the interest and dignity of the Prince of Orange. The King betrayed to the French the anxiety of the Dutch and even of the Prince for peace. ^h Out of deference to the Court of France, he refused his consent to the Lady Mary's marriage with the Prince in 1674; and when it was at length agreed on, he excused it (with equal baseness whether the excuse were false or true), as an expedient for quieting the suspicions of his subjects of his con-

^a Dalry. App. to Review, 68—117 and 156—162.

^b Ibid. 261.

^c "My Lord Hyde (Rochester) ne m'a pas caché que si son avis est suivi, le Roi s'en entrera dans un concert secret pour avoir à V. M. la ville de Luxemburgh." Id. App. p. 18. Barillon au Roi, 7 (17) Nov. 1681. 21 Nov. (1 Dec.) 1681.

^d Barillon, 15 (25) Dec. 1681.

^e Lord Preston to Secretary Jenkins, Paris, 16 (26) Dec. 1682.

^f Barillon, 2 (12) Jan. 1679. Dalry.

^g Courpain au Roi, 19 (29) Jan. 1677. Dalry.

^h Id. 26 Oct. (5 Nov.), 1676. Ibid. and Blancard's Report, Dal. App. 117.

nexions with France.^a The Duke of York said to Barillon, "I consider myself as ruined *for my religion*, if the present occasion does not serve to subject England."^b At the same time, he professed to the Prince of Orange his zeal for the war against France; and acceded with apparent joy to that Prince's proposal, that the Duke should himself command the English auxiliaries in Flanders.^c These specimens of the policy of Charles and James, selected from the documents already published, are sufficient to show, that the English government was in their hands the main stay of the common enemy. From many intimations in the published correspondence, from the evident negligence with which the search has hitherto been conducted, and from the fact, that many of the corrupt and clandestine agreements being merely verbal, must have left traces too faint to be perceived by hasty examiners, it seems very probable that farther investigation might yet discover more complete evidence of a system of treachery, which, for the length of its continuance, the vileness of its motives, the baseness of its means, and the magnitude of its evil consequences, is without parallel in the history of mankind. Even with our present information, it may be safely affirmed, that in the reign of Charles, no criminal who suffered death had been guilty of so many immoral and pernicious acts as his sovereign. So signal an example of perfidy tended to destroy all faith between governments, and to render concert against the conqueror impossible. Almost the whole aggrandisement of Louis XIV. might have been averted by common honesty on the part of Charles II. To his faithless and mercenary breach of the triple alliance may justly be ascribed the expense, danger, desolation, and bloodshed, which were incurred by the European confederacy in those wars, which were waged for twenty-five years to reduce the power of Louis XIV. within reasonable limits. The internal condition of England herself was decomposed by the suspicion entertained by all, and the knowledge possessed by some, of the sinister designs of the government. A king who called in foreign aid, and received foreign bribes, exposed himself to the danger of seeing his ministers corrupted, and his opponents tempted to imitate his example. Some of those who

^a Barillon au Roi, 21 Oct. (1 Nov.), 1677. Dal.

^b Barillon au Roi, 8 (18) April, 1678. Dal. "*Perdu pour sa religion*," is strangely translated by Dalrymple, "*Lost as to his religion*."

^c Letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange, Jan.—April, 1678. Dal.

opposed Charles in parliament, had been so often deceived by him, that, believing his show of preparation for war against France in 1678 to be merely an expedient for obtaining an army and a revenue, which would enable him to become absolute, they opposed measures * into which circumstances might then have hurried that prince, and by which he might have involuntarily contributed to a less ruinous peace than that of Nimeguen. Louis, admitted by the King within the circle of domestic differences, as he found Charles by his fears driven to support the cause of Europe, did not scruple to make advances to the English enemies of the Court. Desirous of detaching France from their own sovereign, and of thus depriving him of the most effectual ally in his project for rendering himself absolute, they reprehensibly and unhappily accepted the aid of Louis in counteracting a policy which they had good reason to dread. They considered this dangerous understanding as allowable for the purpose of satisfying their party, that in opposing Charles they would not have to apprehend the power of Louis, and disposing the King of France to spare the English constitution, as some curb on the irresolution and inconstancy of his royal dependent, in those cases where these despicable qualities might themselves have accidentally rendered him a less obedient slave. To destroy confidence between the Courts seemed to be an object so important, as to warrant the use of ambiguous means; and it was not unnatural to hope, that if Louis became familiar with such negotiations, they might reconcile him to the power of parliament, as a barrier against succeeding kings of more English spirit. The usual sophistry, by which men who are not depraved excuse to themselves great breaches of morality, could not be wanting. They could easily persuade themselves that they could stop when they pleased, and that the example could not be dangerous in a case where the danger was too great not to be of very rare occurrence. In these circumstances, some of them are said by the French ambassador to have so far copied their prince as to have received French money, though they are not charged with being, like him, induced by it to adopt any measures at variance with their avowed principles; a material difference, indeed, but rather as it aggravates his guilt, than as an excuse for the gross, and perilous, and odious qualities ascribed to his adversaries. Barillon is a single witness, who

* Barillon, 4 (14) March, 1678.

might have fabricated the accounts of the distribution of money to cover the conversion of the funds to his own private purposes; whose expenditure in this case must have been unchecked by the necessity of producing vouchers, and whose unsupported testimony was screened by the profound secrecy of his correspondence from the ordinary risks of detection. As it was not pretended that the largesses were to influence the public conduct of the parties, the most important means of corroboration or contradiction were altogether wanting. If, upon this defective evidence, and in a case where we can never hear the defence of the accused, we should be inclined to believe, that in an age of little pecuniary delicacy, when large presents from sovereigns were scarcely deemed dishonourable, and when many princes, and almost all ministers, were in the pay of Louis XIV., some part of the statement may be true, it is due to the haughty temper, not to say to the high principles of Sidney; it is due, though in a very inferior degree, to the ample fortunes of others of the persons named, to believe, that the polluted gifts, if received at all, were applied by them to elections and other public interests of the popular party, which there might be a fantastic gratification in promoting by treasures diverted from the use of the Court. These unhappy transactions, which in their full extent require a more critical scrutiny of the original documents than that to which they have been subjected, are not pretended to originate till ten years after the concert of the two courts, and were relinquished as soon as that concert was resumed. Yet the reproach brought upon the cause of liberty by the infirmity of some men of great soul, and of others of the purest virtue is, perhaps, the most wholesome admonition pronounced by the warning voice of history against the employment of sinister and equivocal means for the attainment of the best ends.

To the corrupt policy of the Court must also, in a great measure, be ascribed the ready credit given to the Popish Plot. A real conspiracy against the religion and liberties of the kingdom was well known to exist. The tale of Titus Oates found an easy entrance into minds predisposed to believe such things by their knowledge of the designs of Charles and James in concert with Louis. The apparently strong confirmation given to his statement, which imputed a correspondence with Père La Chaise * to Coleman, by

* "The Duke perceiving that Oates had named Coleman, bid him look to himself." *Life of James*, i. 534.;—express words of James. Oates was examined before the Privy Council on the 6th September, and before Godfrey on the 27th September. Godfrey sent Coleman to the Duke with the deposition. Godfrey was

the actual discovery of a small part of that correspondence in Coleman's House; the probability, or rather moral certainty, that Coleman, who had been warned of his danger a considerable time before by the Duke, had destroyed the great mass of his dangerous letters, and that the few which had been seized had only by accident escaped destruction; the contents of these few; their natural meaning, considered only in themselves; ^a and their singular coincidences with the communications of the King and the Duke with the French Court, which appear to have been known to Coleman; ^b together with the mysterious circumstances of the death of Godfrey, the magistrate who had taken Oates's information, an event which is to this day incomprehensible,—form at least an excuse for the first concurrence of all parties in the prosecution of the Plot, especially if we confine our view to the first paroxysm of fear and horror which it excited. The loose assent of the King to the Church of Rome in his youth ^c neither moderated his vices nor silenced his jests, nor always quelled his doubts; but, besides the deep taint given to his mind by the infliction of punishment, and even of death itself, under his authority, for no other crime than that of being a priest of the only religion to which he leaned; the general belief of his defection to an unpopular communion,—had peculiarly important effects on national opinion at the more critical periods. It is hard to suppose that the knowledge of his religious partialities and of his clandestine projects was not gradually imparted to many Ca-

found dead at Primrose Hill on the 17th October. Coleman was not apprehended till the 20th October, a month after he had been sent with the depositions, and twelve days after the death of Godfrey. Whoever will read the three letters seized, and consider these dates, together with the warning given by James, will have no doubt that Coleman was confident of his having destroyed the whole correspondence.

^a See especially the last letter. Howell, *State Trials*, vii. 56.

^b Burnet, Oxford Edit., ii. 167.

^c "I conclude that when he came into England he was as certainly a Roman Catholic as a man of pleasure; both very consistent by visible experience." Halifax's Character of Charles II. London, 1751. "I take it for granted after the first year or two" (of residence at Paris,) "he was no more a Protestant." *Ibid.* As he came to Paris after the battle of Worcester, in September, 1651, and remained there till June, 1654 (Clarendon, *Life*, part vi.), this passage seems to place his reconciliation in 1653. It was known to Cromwell. *Ibid.* It was accidentally discovered by the Duke of Ormond at Brussels, in 1658. Carte's Ormond, ii. 251. It had before that time been entrusted to Bennett and Bristol, who were themselves Catholics. *Ibid.* It was betrayed by Charles to the Prince of Orange in 1670. Burnet, i. It must have been antecedent to the writing of the two papers found in his study, and Father Huddleston's account of the solemnities on his death-bed, seems to imply, that he had before been reconciled to the Church. "Le Roi," says the Père d'Orléans, "mauvais Chrétien dans ses mœurs, mais Catholique dans le cœur." *Révolution de l'Angleterre*, iv. 208.

tholics, as a consolation under their afflictions; and if we were to indulge a suspicion that the more zealous politicians, especially among the monastic communities of the Continent, impatient of the King's slow and wavering policy, and indignant at the cruelties which he suffered to be inflicted on their brethren, were betrayed into such angry language, and daring projects for the summary re-establishment of the Church, as might afford some foundation on which Oates built his first narrative,—a suspicion, however, for which there is no direct evidence,—it would serve more to illustrate the dangerous influence of the King's illicit intercourse with France on his own religion, than either to lessen the guilt of the informers, to palliate the atrocity of many of the trials,^a or to throw any general reflections on the Catholic body.

The popular party, who, for years after they knew the Duke of York's conversion, had no thought of disturbing his right of inheritance, at last, after being long possessed of full evidence of his share in secret plans of war against their religion and liberty, began to take legal measures of self-defence, by introducing a bill into parliament to exclude him from the succession to the crown. Foiled in this attempt, and when Charles, by the disuse of Parliament, had shut up all avenues to peaceable redress, they engaged in consultations, whether an armed resistance to his misgovernment was not practicable, and had not become just. Whether Lord Essex, Lord Russell, Mr. Sidney, and Mr. Hampden had taken active measures to carry designs of revolt into execution, was a legal question, rashly answered in the affirmative by juries who found two of them guilty on evidence not sufficient to be the foundation of a just conviction. As an historical question, it may still be doubted whether they had done an irretrievable act, or even adopted a final determination. Morally, no doubt could be entertained, except what is founded on the improbability of success; for, of the justice of a war against Charles, no man can doubt who approves that revolution on which the laws and liberties of England now stand.

Every irregular and eccentric movement of English parties gave a new shock to the policy of the Prince of Orange. His connexion with the House of Stuart was sometimes employed by France to strengthen the jealous antipathy of the republicans against him.

^a These trials have been lately estimated by Mr. S. M. Philips (*State Trials*, i.; London, 1826) with judicial sagacity and impartiality, and with a calmness very agreeable on matters which have excited such angry controversy. On the conduct of the trials it is impossible to hesitate, except, perhaps, in that of Coleman. As an historical question, the Popish plot is still covered with obscurity.

On another occasion he was himself obliged to profess a reliance on that connexion which he did not feel, in order to gain an appearance of strength. As the Dutch republicans were prompted always to thwart his measures by a misapplied zeal for liberty, so the English Whigs were for a moment compelled to enter into a correspondence with the common enemy by the like motives. But in his peculiar relations with England the imprudent violence of the latter party was as much an obstacle in his way as their alienation or opposition. The interest of Europe required that he should never relinquish the attempt to detach the English government from the conqueror. The same principle, together with legitimate ambition, prescribed that he should do nothing, either by exciting enemies or estranging friends, which could endanger his own and the Princess's right of succession to the crown. It was his obvious policy, therefore, to keep up a good understanding with the popular party, on whom only he could permanently rely; to give a cautious countenance to their measures of constitutional opposition, and especially to the bill of exclusion,^a the most effectual mode of cutting asunder the chains which bound England to the car of Louis, rather than to the proposed limitations on a Catholic successor, which might permanently weaken the defensive force of the monarchy;^b to discourage and stand aloof from all violent counsels, likely either to embroil the country in such lasting confusion as would altogether disable it for aiding the sinking fortunes of Europe; or, by their immediate suppression, to subject all national interest and feelings to Charles and his brother; and in which he could not be neutral without supplying the Court with a specious colour of exclusion against the Princess. As his open declaration against the King or the popular party would have been perhaps equally dangerous to English liberty and European independence, he was averse from those projects which reduced him to so injurious an alternative. Hence his conduct in the case of what is called the Rye House Plot, in which his confidential correspond-

^a Burnet, ii. 245. Temple, i. 355. Mem. part iii., fol.; London, 1790. "My friendship with the Prince (says Temple) I could think no crime, considering how little he had ever meddled, to my knowledge, in our domestic concerns since the first heats in Parliament, though sensible of their influence on all his nearest concerns at home; the preservation of Flanders from French conquest, and thereby of Holland from absolute dependence on that Crown." Ibid.

^b Letters of Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins, July, 1680. February, 1681. Dal. App. to Review.

ence manifests^a indifference and even dislike to those who were charged with projects of revolt ; all which might seem unnatural if we did not bear in mind that at the moment of the siege of Vienna, he must have looked at England almost solely, as the only counterpoise of France. His abstinence from English intrigues was at this juncture strengthened by lingering hopes that it was still possible to lure Charles into those unions which he had begun to form against farther encroachment, under the modest and inoffensive name of Associations to maintain the treaty of Nimègue,^b which were in three years afterwards completed by the league of Augsburgh^c and which, in 1689, brought all Europe into the field to check the career of Louis XIV. William, who from the peace of Nimègue was the acknowledged chief of the confederacy gradually forming to protect the remains of Europe, had now slowly and silently removed all the obstacles to its formation, except those which arose from the unhappy jealousies of the friends of liberty at home, and the fatal progress towards absolute monarchy in England. Nothing but an extraordinary union of wariness with perseverance, two qualities which he possessed in a higher degree, and united in juster proportions, than perhaps any other man, could have fitted him for that incessant, unwearied, noiseless exertion which alone suited his difficult situation. His mind, naturally dispassionate, became by degrees steadfastly and intensely fixed upon the single object of his high calling. Brilliant only on the field of battle ; loved by none but a few intimate connexions ; considerate and circumspect in council : in the execution of his designs, bold even to rashness, and inflexible to the verge of obstinacy, he held his onward course with

^a MS. Letters from the Prince to Mr. Bentinck, in England, July and August, 1683. By the favour of the Duke of Portland, I possess copies of the whole of the Prince's correspondence with his friend, from 1677 to 1700 ; written with the unreserved frankness of warm and pure friendship, in which it is quite manifest that there is nothing concealed.

^b The first of these appears to have been that between Sweden and Holland, at the Hague, 10th Sept. 1681. "Pro firma conversatione pacis neomagenensis inter et monastienensis." Dumont, vii. par. ii. 15. Accession of the Emperor Leopold, 28th February, 1682. Id. ibid. 19. Of Spain, 2d May, 1682. Id. 22. Circles of Franconia and Upper Rhine, with Elector of Brandenburg, 10th June, 1682. Id. 25. Denmark and Brandenburg, 14 Sept. 1682. Id. 26. Emperor and Sweden, 18th Oct. 1682. Id. 27. Emperor with Brunswick and Luxemburg, 14th January, 1683. Id. 51. Emperor and Bavaria, 26th January, 1683. Id. 54. Emperor, Spain, Sweden, Holland, March, 1683. Id. 55—57. Circles of Bavaria and Westphalia, 2d March, 1683. Renewal between Holland and Sweden, 13th January, 1689. Id., etc., etc.

^c League of Augsburgh, 28 June (9 July), 1686. Dumont, vii. p. ii. 181.

a quiet and even pace which wore down opposition, outlasted the sallies of enthusiasm, and disappointed the subtle contrivances of a refined policy. Good sense, which, in so high a degree as his, is one of the rarest of human endowments, had full scope for its exercise in a mind seldom invaded by the disturbing passions of fear and anger. With all his determined firmness, no man was ever more solicitous not to provoke or keep up needless enmity. It is no wonder that he should be influenced by this principle in his dealings with Charles and James, for there are traces of it even in his rare and transient intercourse with Louis XIV. He caused it to be intimated to him "that he was ambitious of being restored to his Majesty's favour;"^a to which it was haughtily answered, "that when such a disposition was shown in his conduct, the King would see what was to be done." Yet Davaux believed that the Prince really desired to avoid the enmity of Louis, as far as was compatible with his duties to Holland and his interest in England. In a conversation with Gourville, which affords one of the most characteristic specimens of intercourse between a practised courtier and a man of plain inoffensive temper, when the minister had spoken to him in more soothing language, he professed his warm wish to please the King, and proved his sincerity by adding that he never could neglect the safety of Holland, and that the decrees of reunion, together with other marks of projects of universal monarchy, were formidable obstacles to good understanding. It was probably soon after these attempts that he made the remarkable declaration,—“Since I cannot earn his Majesty's favour, I must endeavour to earn his esteem.”

The death of Charles II. gave William some hope of an advantageous change in English policy. Many worse men and more tyrannical kings than that prince, few persons of more agreeable qualities and brilliant talents, have been seated on a throne. But his transactions with France probably afford the most remarkable instance of a King with no sense of national honour or of regal independence, the last vestiges which departing virtue might be expected to leave behind in a royal bosom. More jealousy of dependence on a foreign prince was hoped from the sterner temper of his successor. William accordingly made great efforts and sacrifices to obtain the accession of England to the European cause.

^a 5th Dec. 1690. Davaux. i. 5.

^b Gourville au Roi. 18th March, 1681. Mem. ii. 204.

He declared his readiness to sacrifice his resentments, and even his personal interests, and to conform his conduct to the pleasure of the King in all things compatible with his religion and with his duty to the republic;^a limitations which must have been considered as pledges of sincerity by him to whom they were otherwise unacceptable. He declared his regret at the appearance of opposition to both his uncles, which had arisen only from the necessity of resisting Louis, and he sent M. D'Auverquerque to England to lay his submission before the King, and to request that his Majesty would prescribe the conduct which he desired the Prince to pursue. James desired that he should relinquish communication with the Duke of Monmouth, dismiss the malcontent English officers in the Dutch army, and adapt his policy to such engagements as the King should see fit to contract with his neighbours.^b To the former conditions the Prince submitted without reserve. The last, couched in strong language by James to Barillon,^c hid under more general expressions by the English minister to Davaux, but implying in its mildest form an acquiescence in the projects of the conqueror, was probably conveyed to the Prince himself in terms capable of being understood as amounting only to an engagement to avoid an interruption of the general peace.^d In that inoffensive sense it seems to have been accepted by the Prince; since the King declared to him that his concessions, which could have reached no farther, were perfectly satisfactory.^e During these unexpected advances to a renewal of friendship between the King and his son-in-law, an incident occurred, apparently inconsistent with them, which has ever since, in the eyes of many, thrown some shade over the sincerity of William.

^a Davaux. 13 (23) Feb. and 26 Feb. (8 March), 1685. The last contains an account of a conversation of William with Fagel, overheard by a person who reported it to Davaux. A passage in which Davaux shows his belief that the policy of the Prince now aimed at gaining James, is suppressed in the printed collection, but preserved in Fox MSS., ii. 14.

^b Compare Davaux, 8 Mar., with Barillon, 19 Feb. (1 Mar.) and 23 Feb. (5 Mar.) 1685.

^c "Que M. Le Prince d'Orange changeât entièrement sa conduite à l'égard de la France." Fox, App., 46.

^d James afterwards informed Barillon, that the Prince had answered him satisfactorily on all other points, but had not taken notice of the wish that he should connect himself with France. Fox, Hist. James II. I have not yet discovered in the despatches the foundation of this last statement. Mr. Fox's reasoning is unanswerable, and tallies with the text, except that his supposition charges James with more positive insincerity than I am willing to impute to him.

^e James to the Prince of Orange, 6 (16), 16 (26), and 17 (27) March, 1685. Dalrymple, App. to part i. No exact account of the Prince's concessions has yet been discovered, which reduces the historian to the necessity of being satisfied with probable inferences.

This was the landing in England of the Duke of Monmouth, with a small number of adherents who had embarked at Amsterdam. He had taken refuge in the Spanish Netherlands, and afterwards in Holland, during the preceding year, in consequence of a misunderstanding between him and the ministers respecting the nature and extent of the confession concerning the reality of the Rye House Plot, published by them in language which he resented as conveying unauthorised imputations on his friends. The Prince and Princess of Orange received him with kindness; from personal friendship, from compassion for his sufferings, and for his connexion, although not blameless, with the popular and Protestant party in England.^a The transient shadow of a pretension to the crown did not awaken their jealousy. They were well aware that whatever complaints might be made by ministers, Charles himself would not be displeased by kindness towards his favourite son.^b There is, indeed, little doubt, that in the last year of his life he was prevailed upon by Halifax to consult his ease, as well as inclination, by the recall of his son, as a counterpoise to the Duke of York, and thus produce the balance of parties at court, which was one of the darling refinements of that too ingenious statesman.^c Reports were prevalent that Monmouth had privately visited England, and that he was well pleased with his journey.^d He was assured by confidential letters, evidently sanctioned by his father, that he should be recalled in February.^e It appears also that Charles had written with his own hand a letter to the Prince of Orange, beseeching him to treat Monmouth kindly, which D'Auverquerque was directed to lay before James as a satisfactory explanation of whatever might seem suspicious in the unusual honours paid to that unfortunate nobleman.^f It

^a Dav. 13 (23) Feb. 1685. Dav. iv. 139.

^b "Bentinck et d'autres créatures du Prince disent hautement qu'il ne fait aucune démarche à l'égard de M. de Monmouth que du consentement du Roi d'Angleterre." Dav. 1 (11) Jan. 1685. Fox MSS., ii. 2. This passage, important from being written during the life of Charles, is suppressed in the printed despatches.

^c Burnet, &c.

^d Burnet, ii. 452. Oxf. edit.

^e Diary in Monmouth's pocket-book, taken when he was made prisoner, and published in the Appendix to Wellwood's Memoirs, 5th January and 3d February (no year certain).

^f Davaux, 17 (27) Mar. 1685. Fox MSS. ii. 48. Davaux observes that this account was openly and confidently circulated by the Prince's friends; that it was believed by the magistrates of Amsterdam, his greatest enemies, and that it had been confidentially told by Bentinck, in the lifetime of Charles, to the Danish ambassador, who gave credit to it. It becomes more important from being suppressed in the printed despatches.

was no wonder that Monmouth, on hearing of his father's death, should have been overheard to break out into cries and lamentations;^a which filial sorrow, however sincere, could not have produced; and that the last extract which is preserved of his melancholy journal should be:—"16 Feb.; the sad news of his death by L. O cruel Fate."^b

The removal of Monmouth from Holland became the necessary consequence of the change produced in the Prince's policy by James's accession. Before he left the Hague, the Prince and Princess approved the draft of a submissive letter to James which he had laid before them.^c They exacted from him a promise that he would engage in no violent enterprises inconsistent with this submission.^d Nor is there any reason to doubt the sincerity of Monmouth. Despairing of clemency from his uncle, he then appears to have entertained designs of retiring into Sweden, or of serving in the imperial army against the Turks; and he listened for a moment to the projects of some French Protestants, who proposed that he should put himself at the head of their unfortunate brethren, whom they were desirous of exciting to revolt against the ruin which then hung over them. He seems for a considerable time to have adhered to his determination. He thought the difficulties of an enterprise against England insuperable. The circumstances of his party appeared to him at the moment desperate; and he entreated his more zealous friends to consider whether by struggling with their chains they were not likely to make them more galling.^e Subsequent to the death of Charles II.,^f even the French minister in Holland mentions no

^a Monmouth a été comme un homme désespéré. On l'a entendu dans la petite maison où il loge faisant des cris et des lamentations. Dav. 12 (22) Feb., Dav. iv. 136.

^b Notes in Welwood. Welwood was physician to William III. His book, dedicated to that monarch, was written at the desire of Queen Mary. It is characterised by generous moderation to fallen enemies, and even to religious adversaries. These circumstances, and the extraordinary coincidence of this entry with the despatch of Davaux, place the authenticity of the notes in the pocket book above suspicion. I have before me two editions; the first in 1700; another in 1710, when he had lost his station as a royal physician. L. seems to be Halifax.

^c Davaux, 17 (27) Feb., Dav. iv. 140.

^d "The Prince and Princess of Orange will be witnesses for me of the assurance I gave them, that I would never stir against you." Monmouth to the King, 8th July, 1685. James II., ii. 32. "Now you see how little trust is to be given to what the D. of Monmouth says." James II. to the Prince of Orange, 19th May, 1685. Dalrymple, App. p. i. b. 2.

^e Monmouth's Letter (Welwood, App. to No. 15.) to an unnamed adherent.

^f The enemies of William's character have thrown considerable darkness over this part of history, by dwelling on the honours which he showed to Monmouth,

intercourse of Monmouth with William or his friends, except in one or two short interviews which humanity or civility might require.^a The Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, desirous of conciliating James, drove Monmouth from their territory, and the importunity of the English and Scotch refugees in Holland induced him to return privately there to be present at their consultations. He found the Scotch exiles, who were proportionately more numerous and of greater distinction, and who felt more bitterly from the bloody tyranny under which their countrymen suffered, impatiently desirous to make an immediate attempt for the delivery of their country. Fergusson, the nonconformist preacher, whether from treachery, as was afterwards suspected, or from the rashness which is the attendant on unacquaintance with danger, seconded the impetuosity of his countrymen. Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, a man of heroic spirit, and a lover of liberty even to enthusiasm, who had just returned from serving in Hungary, dissuaded his friends from an enterprise which his political sagacity and military experience taught him to consider as hopeless, and destructive of its own objects.

In assemblies of suffering and angry exiles it was to be expected that rash counsels should prevail, yet Monmouth appears to have resisted them longer than could have been hoped from his judgment or temper. It was not till two months after the death of Charles II. that the vigilant Davaux intimated his suspicion of a design to land in England.^b Nor was it till three weeks after that he was able to transmit to his Court the particulars of the equipment for that object. It was only then that Skelton, the minister of James, complained of these petty armaments to the President of the States-general and the magistrates of Amsterdam, neither of whom had any authority in the case. They referred him to the Admiralty of Amsterdam, the competent authority in such cases, who, as soon as they were authorised by an order

without remarking, with sufficient distinctness, that they all preceded the death of Charles. Mac. Hist. G. B., i. 437., Life of James II., ii. 24., and Péro d'Orl. Rev. d'Augl., iii. 289.

^a Davaux, 12 (22) Mar. and 9 (19) Ap. 1685. A comparison of these passages with Macpherson will show the boldness of the inferences in which the latter indulges. It must be remarked, however, that the passages in the "Life of James" rest only on the credit of Dicconson, the compiler, and that the insinuations of the Jesuit are very cautious.

^b Davaux, 9 (19 April), 1685. 174.

from the States-general, proceeded to arrest the vessels freighted by Argyle. But in consequence of a mistake in Skelton's description of their station, their exertions were too late to prevent the sailing of the unfortunate expedition on the 5th of May. The natural delays of a slow and formal government, the jealousy of rival authorities, exasperated by the spirit of party, and the license shown in such a country to navigation and traffic, are sufficient to account for this short delay. If there was in this case a more than usual indisposition to overstep the formalities of the constitution, or to quicken the slow pace of the administration, it may be well imputed to natural compassion towards the exiles, and to the strong fellow-feeling which arose from agreement in religious opinion, especially with the Scotch. If there were proof even of absolute connivance, it must be ascribed solely to the magistrates and inhabitants of Amsterdam, the ancient enemies of the House of Orange, who might look with favour on an expedition which might prevent the Stadtholder from being strengthened by his connexion with the King of England, and who, as we are told by Davaux himself, were afterwards filled with consternation when they learned the defeat of Monmouth. On the news of Argyle's landing in Scotland, James desired that the States-general should send over the three Scotch regiments in their service to his aid. The Prince offered to go at their head.* This offer was declined with no appearance of disgust, and the immediate despatch of the three regiments was carried through the States^b by the influence of Fagel and Bentinck, in spite of the obstinate resistance of Amsterdam and their adherents. It is somewhat singular that Skelton did not complain of Monmouth's equipment till the 5th of June, two days after the embarkation of that unfortunate nobleman, who found means to elude the search which was in consequence directed to be made for him, and finally left the coast of Holland on the 9th.^c Before he quitted that country, he wrote a letter of thanks to the magistrates of Amsterdam for their favour to himself and his adherents, and he expressed himself in terms of anger, and even of revenge, against the Prince of Orange, for having sacrificed his friendship to regain

* James II. to P. of Orange, 23 May (1 June), and 2 (12) June, 1695. Dal. App. p. i. b. 2.

^b Fox MSS., ii.

^c Those dates are new style, to suit the despatches of Davaux.

that of James.^a The unexpected progress of Monmouth after his first landing induced James to apply for the three English regiments in the Dutch service.^b An immediate assent was given to that proposition, and the Prince sent his friend Bentinck to London, to offer his personal services, and those of such generals and other officers as might be needed, for the suppression of the revolt. The private instructions of Bentinck bore date on the very day on which Monmouth was prevailed upon to cause himself to be proclaimed King.^c Before that event was known in Holland an irrevocable offer was thus made by the Prince, of which the acceptance was likely to provoke Monmouth to make public the secret encouragement or instigation he had received at the Hague, if any such had really existed. No man of common understanding could have ventured to defy the possessor of so fatal a secret. Bentinck, who heard of Monmouth's declaration on his arrival in England, was gratefully received by James. The answer in which he declined the offer of the Prince, bears every mark of satisfaction and confidence.^d The subsequent fate of Monmouth has been already related by historians, and no part of his expedition is, indeed, within the scope of this work, otherwise than as it illustrates the conduct of the Prince of Orange relating to the affairs of England. Common humanity was sufficient to induce him to dissuade Monmouth and Argyle from projects so crude, that these unfortunate noblemen were unable, in their first declaration, to specify the sovereign whom they were to place on the throne, on even the form of government which they were to recommend to the two nations. Nothing, however, is more obvious than that the enterprise tended to disturb his designs, and endanger his interests. It is difficult to determine which of its possible results was likely to be most disadvantageous to him; its complete success would have excluded the Princess of Orange from the succession to the crown; the effects of its entire failure, in strengthening the influence of the French party, are known to us from history; a protracted civil war, the only remaining result, would have ren-

^a Fox MSS., ii. 5th July, 1685. This despatch, which is not printed, sufficiently confutes all those which contain insinuations of the Prince's being privy to Monmouth's expedition; most of which seem to have been intended to furnish Louis XIV. with the means of preventing a reconciliation between the English and Dutch governments.

^b James II. to P. of Orange, 17 (37) June, 1685. Dal. App. p. i. b. 2.

^c Bentinck's Instructions, 24 June (4 July), 1685. Copy of Portland MSS., 28.

^d James II. to P. of Orange, 30 June (9 July), 1685. Dal. App. p. i. b. 2.

dered it impossible for England to lend any assistance to the cause of Europe. At a moment when the prospect of the Princess's succession was daily brightening, it was evidently his policy, even if he had no hopes of gaining over James, to keep the internal tranquillity of England undisturbed. Those writers, who without any evidence impute to him the design of employing Monmouth to excite a confusion in Great Britain, of which he might at an undetermined period reap some uncertain fruit, seem to be equally strangers to his character, to his circumstances, and to the general maxims of civil prudence. Men so cautious as he was, are not willing to embark in designs of which no human sagacity can foresee the probable event. To trust the brittle machinery of political contrivance amidst the shocks of unexpected passions and events, to incur the risks of a wilderness of crooked policy, where the paths and the issues are alike hid from our view, would have been widely at variance with the plain dictates of that sober and modest good sense which was the usual guide of his conduct.

The offer of military service, made by William, was in itself not at all desirable to him; for though the body of the popular party had shown no disposition to embark in so desperate an expedition as that of Monmouth, they could look with little complacency on his most active opponents; but it is easy to see why he should have regarded it as the least of the evils among which he had to choose. It offered a new chance of detaching James from Louis. It would strengthen the hope of such a separation on the Continent. It afforded means of acquiring reputation and ascendancy in England; and while the defeat of an illegitimate claimant might recommend him to the Protestant Tories, whose support was so essential to his succession, it afforded him the means of moderating a victory, gained, indeed, only over one unhappy adventurer, but calculated to spread fear and sorrow among the friends of liberty, whose cause was his, and who alone were devoted to him to the last extremity. The original letters of William to Bentinck, during his mission in England, are still extant, without interruption or mutilation. Like every other part of the correspondence, they are written with the most unreserved freedom. Their calmness, as well as frankness, show that the writer had nothing to conceal. Being once satisfied that the defeat of Monmouth was the least injurious issue of the revolt, he wastes no vain regrets on its inevitable con-

sequences. He is anxious to hear of the success of the royal army. He distrusts the military capacity of Lord Feversham, and he finally expresses his satisfaction at the event of the battle. He shows no curiosity about the subsequent language or conduct of Monmouth; and appears so little apprehensive of any secret injurious to him transpiring in England, that after the capture of Monmouth, when such a secret, if it had existed, was most likely to be betrayed, he becomes anxious for the immediate return of Bentinck, who was detained in England some days longer by James, probably with an expectation that the continuance of apparent concert between him and his son-in-law would extinguish the last hopes of the disaffected. The Prince was so sensible of the services which he had performed or tendered, that he instructed Bentinck,^a on taking leave, to ask Lord Rochester what succour he might expect, in case of need, from England; and to declare, at the same time, that the King would find him not resolved on war at all risks and seasons, but desirous of conforming his policy to his Majesty's wishes, with the important reservations of duty to his religion and his country. The unfortunate Monmouth bore a dying testimony to the truth of these declarations by his last letter, in which he appeals to the Prince and Princess as witnesses of the reluctance with which he engaged in his rash undertaking, which they had obtained his promise not to attempt. We know little with certainty of the particulars of Monmouth's intercourse with his inexorable uncle, from his capture till his execution, except the compassionate interference of the Queen Dowager in his behalf; a princess whose blameless demeanour in the performance of her long and difficult part has scarcely obtained the commendation which it seems to deserve. Burnet was indeed better informed of these transactions^b than most contemporaries; yet his unsupported statement, that Mary of Este treated Monmouth with arrogance and cruelty, is not sufficient evidence to maintain so black a charge; though, on other occasions, she showed her proneness to indulge those violent passions, which in her declining years

^a Points à parler. Portland MSS.

^b Sir Edward Villers, at that time in the household of the Princess of Orange, married the daughter of Chiffenich, in whose apartments, at Whitehall, the interview between James and Monmouth took place. Thence, probably, the report of Burnet.

misfortune and religion subdued. Whatever may have passed in the interview between Monmouth and his uncle, or in the subsequent conversations with Clarendon and Tyrconnel, this is certain, from the King's conduct immediately after, that, whatever it was, it tended rather to strengthen than to shake his confidence in the Prince. Sidney was sent with Bentinck to Holland; a choice which seemed to indicate an extraordinary deference for the wishes of the Prince, and was considered in Holland as a decisive mark of good understanding between the two governments. The proud and hostile city of Amsterdam presented an address of congratulation to William on the defeat of Monmouth; and the republican party began to despair of effectual resistance to the power of the Stadtholder, now about to be strengthened by the alliance with England. The Dutch ambassadors in London, in spite of the remonstrances of Barillon, succeeded in concluding a treaty for the renewal of the defensive alliance between England and Holland, which, though represented to Louis as a mere formality, was certainly a step which required little more than that liberal construction to which a defensive treaty is always entitled, to convert it into an accession by England to the concert of the other states of Europe, for the preservation of their rights and dominions. The connexion between the Dutch and English governments answered alike the immediate purposes of both parties. It overawed the malcontents of Holland, as well as those of England; and James commanded his ministers to signify to the magistrates of Amsterdam, that their support of the Stadtholder would be acceptable to his Majesty. But there was an important difference in the situation of the two parties. The object for which the Prince of Orange paid court to the King, which was to obtain the co-operation of England against the farther progress of conquest, absolutely required the permanence of the connexion; while the triumph of the maxims of civil and ecclesiastical policy adopted in England as imperiously demanded the friendship, if not the aid, of Louis XIV. The King of England, accordingly, never lost sight of this paramount consideration. During the whole of his friendly correspondence with Holland, he and Rochester, his prime minister, importunately besought the continuance of secret supplies from France. He early told the French ambassador that he believed Monmouth to be supported by all the Protestant princes

of Germany, * which showed him the road that he must follow, and the ally in whom alone he could trust. But Louis evaded the application of Barillon on this subject, and declined advancing any money beyond the arrears of the subsidy of the late king, until more decisive measures in favour of the Catholics should render pecuniary assistance necessary. ^b On this occasion he betrayed some irritation on the subject of Holland. When he afterwards learned the despatch of the English regiments from Holland, he enjoined his minister, in a cold and haughty tone, to remit to Paris the money which had been entrusted to his charge for the purpose of being advanced to the King of England, which would, he observed, be the more proper, because the unsuccessful revolt would certainly render the King more absolute in his dominions than any of his predecessors. ^c But James continued his entreaties. He declared to Barillon, that, being educated in France, and having eaten the bread of the Most Christian King, his heart was French; and that he thought only of deserving the esteem and conforming to the pleasure of Louis; ^d that without the aid of Louis, he never could hope to succeed in his designs against the Protestants, which he had imparted to Barillon with less reserve than to his own ministers. ^e Rochester pressed Barillon with the same arguments, with the exception of those derived from the interests of religion. Sunderland, who had determined to effect the removal of Rochester by undistinguished compliance with the King's religious policy, spoke to the French minister with no such scruples. "The King, my master," he said, "has no object at heart so much as the establishment of the Catholic religion, and there can be no other so important to him on mere principles of good sense and right reason; for he must always be exposed to the popular prejudices against that religion until it be fully established: — a project which suits the interest only of the King of France, which can succeed only by his means, and which will be openly resisted or secretly traversed by other powers." This mode of reasoning is evidently inapplicable to any other measure than that of transferring the whole

* "Ce Prince s'explique tout haut que les rebelles sont soutenus de tous les autres Protestans d'Europe, et traite de ridicule tout ce qui se dit d'opposé à cela." Barillon au Roi, 28 May (7 June), 1685. App. Fox, 86.

^b Le Roi à Barillon, 5 (15) June, 1685. Fox, App. 9.

^c Le Roi à Barillon, 3 (13) July, 1685. Fox, App. 97.

^d Barillon au Roi, 6 (16) July, 1685. Fox, App. 105.

^e Fox, App. 100.

power and privileges to the Roman Catholic Church, and was perfectly conformable to the opinion of Barillon himself, who early declared to James that the maintenance of the royal authority and the establishment of the Catholic religion were inseparable objects. ^a Sunderland added, that the Court of France ought not to be disturbed by reports of connexions between his master and the Prince of Orange, whose situation, interests, and opinions rendered all permanent union between them impossible. ^b Louis continued immoveable. He remonstrated against the renewal of the treaty. ^c He expressed great displeasure, especially, at the revival of the defensive treaty of alliance of 1678; a treaty entered into by Charles the Second in one of the moments of misunderstanding with France, always interpreted by him in the manner most agreeable to Louis, but of which the deliberate renewal on the present occasion would furnish the Prince of Orange with new means of disturbing the peace of Europe.

CHAPTER XII.

Artifices of James.—Designs and Measures of William.—Conduct of Louis XIV.—His Quarrel with the Pope.—Designs of William upon England.—Penn's Mission.—Negociations between James and William.—Supposed secret Treaty with France. Liberty of Conscience.—The Protestant Succession.—Mission and Intrigues of Dyckvelt, and of Zuylistein.—Correspondence of Stuart and Fagel.—Letters between the King and the Princess.

THE renewal of the treaty between England and Holland was negotiated without communication to Barillon. ^d Upon the French minister's remonstrating after the fact, James talked, in a high strain, of holding in his hand the balance of power. ^e This expression, in the political vocabulary of the time, was synonymous with vindicating the honour of England and independence of Eu-

^a Barillon, 6 (16) April, 1685.

^b Fox, App. 104.

^c 14 (24) August. "S'il désire effectivement de conserver mon amitié, il n'entrera dans aucun autre engagement qui puisse y être contraire."

^d Le Roi à Barillon, 24 August, 1685. Fox, App.

^e Bar. au Roi, 13 Dec. 1685. Dal. App.

rope against Louis XIV. Charity would dispose us to give the unfortunate James credit for a passing visitation of pride and patriotism, which would raise him above the unrelieved meanness of his predecessor. It was but an access of ill humour against Louis for withholding the pension,^a which descended from one brother to the other, by scandalous inheritance, with the crown.

James not only acted from the motives, but employed the artifices, of Charles. He proposed to Barillon to contract with his master new and closer relations, which should neutralise the treaty with the States-general. Louis instructed his ambassador to decline all such overtures, and intimated plainly that the object of James was to create a pretence for asking money.^d

The Dutch, Spanish, and Imperial ministers, at the Court of London, towards the close of 1685, began to express hopes, real or pretended, of detaching James from the King of France. Louis upon this did not feel quite secure. He ordered Barillon to watch the movements of the King, and aggravate his pecuniary embarrassments, by gaining the chief members of opposition in parliament. Barillon suggested to his master in reply, that he might dispense with pensioning the King, and the leading whigs, by taking into his pay the chief minister of the crown.^e Lord Sunderland, accordingly, after a negociation, of which the details were as sordid as the transaction was base,^f accepted a French pension of 25,000 crowns, upon his undertaking that his master should contract no foreign engagements adverse to the interests of Louis XIV.^g

This incident throws a disenchanting light upon political virtue and popular character in England, on the eve of an epoch, commonly named the most glorious in English history. They who took money from the King of France in the reign of Charles,^h would assuredly have no qualms in that of James. Cardinal Mazarin did not find a prostitute minister and stipendiary patriots in the councils and parliaments of Cromwell and the Commonwealth. Corruption and degeneracy came in with royalty and the Stuarts at the Restoration.

^a "Votre Majesté a bien reconnu que la cessation des payemens a produit le renouvellement du traité avec les Etats-Généraux." The same to the same, 26 Nov. 1685. Fox, App.

^b Le Roi à Bar., 4 Sept. 1685. Fox, App.

^c "Liaisons (says he) qui ne se concluent jamais qu'à mes dépens." Ibid.

^d Le Roi à Bar., 19 Nov. 1685. Fox, App.

^e Bar. Corres., Fox MSS.

^f Dal. App., pp. 314, &c.

^g Le Roi à Bar., 6 Dec. 1685. Ibid.

The King's alienation from Louis XIV., and his union with the Prince of Orange, were hollow and of short duration. He soon resumed with Louis the natural tone and necessary relations between two monarchs, attracted to each other by the sympathies of religion and despotism.^a Lord Sunderland justly observed to Barillon, that the most difficult of all things was concord between two persons, of whom one longed impatiently for the crown worn by the other.^b James, in his correspondence with the Prince, continued for some time to disguise his aversion. He found it hard to constrain his real sentiments.^c The dry style and brief civility of his letters betray the violence which in writing them he did to his nature.^d But James II. combined, with his harsh character and conscientious bigotry, that common art in the education of princes and exercise of kingcraft, dissimulation.

The Prince of Orange, at the same time, pursued secretly his eager ambition and vast designs, with the genius and adroitness of a consummate politician. The Calvinist first magistrate of a Calvinist republic, he rallied round him Catholic as well as Protestant princes,—the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Pope himself,—in a confederacy of Europe against the eldest and most powerful son of the Church. Affecting towards James, with an air of patient tranquillity, the deference and duty of a son, he gained over the subjects, sapped the throne, and finally made himself supreme arbiter of the fate of his father-in-law, under the pretence of zeal for a church, and affection for a nation, to neither of which he belonged.

It would be difficult to cite two projects in themselves more vast, and, when compared with the rank and resources of a Stadtholder of Holland, more disproportioned to the adventurer and his means, than those entertained by the Prince of Orange;—one to humble the pride and power of the King of France, the other to displace and succeed the King of England. Had William disclosed his views with the ostentation of Louis XIV., the voice of Europe would have rebuked his presumption. He cherished them in the solitude of his own breast, until they discovered themselves

^a Life of James II. from his MS, Mem.; and Corr. de Bar., Fox MSS. *passim*.

^b Bar. au Roi, 16 July, 1685. Fox, App.

^c Bonrepaux à Seignelai, 26 Mars, 1686. Fox MSS.

^d See the letters (from King William's Cabinet) in Dalrymple's Appendix.

by that which most commands the homage of mankind,—the process of their achievement.

Both designs were intimately linked with each other. The first in the order of time was that against the King of France. It would have been imprudent in the Prince of Orange to risk an invasion of England without having given Louis full occupation on the Continent. Were he disposed to run so desperate a hazard, he would have found it impossible. The most calculating and parsimonious of republics would not place at his disposal its men, its ships, and its funds, until he had secured it against the ambition and hatred of the French monarch.

The first grand step of the Prince was to concert secretly the league of Augsburg in 1686. It was not definitively concluded until the following year. The contracting parties were the Emperor, the Elector of Brandenburg, and other chief princes of the Empire, the King of Spain, the King of Sweden, the States of Holland, the Duke of Lorraine, and the Duke of Savoy. The Republic of Venice and the Pope, without being formal parties, were secretly pledged to the confederacy. It professed to be a defensive league, having for its object to guard the treaties of Westphalia, Nimeguen, and Ratisbon, from invasion by Louis XIV.*

The French King was soon informed of this formidable association. He penetrated by his ambassadors and emissaries the recesses of all the courts of Europe. The cabinet of the Prince of Orange was not proof against his means and instruments. D'Avaux, French minister at the Hague, obtained access to it through the confessor of the Prince's confidential valet-de-chambre :—"a good Catholic, a good Frenchman, and a man of honour ;" says the ambassador, in a despatch to his master.^b

A spy and three ruffians, under the orders of Cardinal D'Estrées, French ambassador at Rome, detected and waylaid a Dutch agent, who communicated with the pope's secretary, Cassoni, in the disguise of a dealer in artificial fruits. They threatened and spared the life of the agent, robbed him of his basket, and discovered, ingeniously secreted in the fruits, scraps of paper, communicating the Duke of Savoy's adhesion to the league of Augsburg, and the Pope's promise to supply the Emperor with

* Dum. Corps Dip. tom. vii. part ii. p. 131. Puffend. Comm. Rer. Brand. lib. xix.

^b Négot. du Comte d'Avaux. Fox MSS.

large sums of money, which should be placed at the disposal of the Prince of Orange, in carrying on war against the Christian King.^a

The French spy succeeded even in ransacking the papal secretary's private cabinet. Among the papers which he found there, not yet perused by the Pope, was one setting forth, that the Prince's taking the command of the imperial troops in Germany was but a pretext to cover his designs upon England, and that he had entered into a conspiracy with the English, to put to death the King, and the child of which the Queen was then pregnant, if a son, in order to place himself and the princess his wife on the throne. The Cardinal states, that he lost no time in communicating this horrible plot to the young Lord Norfolk (meaning doubtless Lord Thomas Howard, then at Rome), who despatched to his master two couriers with the news; one by sea, the other by land.^b The absurdity or the improbability of the latter part of this information may have shut the eyes of James to the exact and fatal truth of the former.

Louis at first attempted in vain to break the confederacy by intrigue and gold.^c His next step was menace and aggression. He threatened, that upon the slightest infraction of the truce of twenty years then pending, he would send forth his armies across the Meuse, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, and make his flag respected by means of a strong fleet at sea. This was not an idle threat. He kept on foot, in the succeeding war, generally five, sometimes six, never fewer than four armies: his marine, under the direction of Seignelai, son of the great Colbert, was the best ordered in Europe; and he was prepared to attack the confederates, in 1688, with a military and naval force amounting to 450,000 men.^d

The league of Augsburg was signed in July, 1687. Louis XIV., in the following September, braved the confederacy by an outrage, either in a spirit of insulting defiance, or as a stroke of policy, to sound the extent and forwardness of its preparations. He caused the arms of France to be set up within gunshot of Namur, in the face of the Spanish garrison. The confederates were deaf to the challenge; and the King of Spain purchased the removal of the

^a Card. d'Estrées to Louis XIV. Dal. App.

^b Card. D'Estrées à Louvois. Dal. App.

^c Œuv. de Louis XIV., tom. iv. Mem. Mil. Année 1688.

^d Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV.

nuisance, by ceding two villages, in a quarter where the insult was less flagrant.

The Emperor, the Venetians, and the Poles were at war with the Turks. James, a mere bigot, saw nothing in the contest but Mohammedans and Catholics; and gave the latter all that the degenerate successor of Cromwell and Elizabeth could give, in the position to which he had reduced himself,—his public wishes and his private prayers. Louis, also a religious bigot, but at the same time an ambitious politician, consulting only his political interest, aided the infidels against the Christians, and the insurgent Hungarians against their sovereign.

Odescalchi filled the papal throne, under the name of Innocent XI. An energetic and enlightened temporal prince, unversed in dogmatic theology, or superior to its disputes,^a he assisted the Emperor, the Poles, and the Venetians, with his money and his galleys, and combined secretly with the Prince of Orange against the ambition and arrogance of the King of France. Louis, in return, subjected Innocent to every mortification to which the weak can be subjected by the strong, short of renouncing the communion of the Church.

Each ambassador at Rome had his particular quarter endowed with a franchise equivalent to the right of sanctuary. This franchise was grossly abused. The enfranchised quarters became the refuge of malefactors. Innocent obtained a renunciation of the privilege from all the Catholic princes except Louis. When the nuncio Ranucci solicited him to follow their example, he said, it was for him to give, not to take example;^b and despatched the Marquis de Lavardin, with the special mission of affronting the Pope in his capital.^c Lavardin, in open contempt of the Pope's authority, entered Rome with an armed escort of a thousand Frenchmen, — residents at Rome, soldiers, and his suite, — took military possession of his quarter, and was excommunicated. The only consequence worth notice (if, indeed, it be worth notice),

^a Bishop Burnet exaggerates in some traits, and perverts in others, the character of this Pope. It is true his family were bankers, but he was himself bred a soldier, and had served in the army of the Milanese. His ignorance of the points in dispute between the Jesuits and Jansenists is compatible with knowledge of another and more useful sort, and his whole pontificate, as well as the testimony of historians, proves him not a jealous and fearful man, but a prince and politician of fearless temper and enlarged views. Another English historian (Oldmixon), erring in the opposite extreme, calls him "the Protestant Pope."

^b Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*

^c Id. *ibid.*

was the embarrassing and comic position of the French resident minister, Cardinal D'Estrées, who was compelled to accept absolution from the Pope, on his admission to the presence of the holy father after each communication with the excommunicate Lavardin.^a Thus fantastically are events the most important mingled with weaknesses the most pitiable, in the anomalous current of human affairs.

There is nothing to give surprise in the submission of the Pope. The papal soldiers were armed, as the papal bulls were now issued, for mere show.^b But why did the King of Spain, the Emperor, and the other confederates of Augsburg, submit to aggression and outrage? The most probable supposition, in the absence of direct evidence, is, that they were held back by the Prince of Orange. He was the prime mover and constituted chief of the league; his influence was paramount; and his projects were not yet ripe for a war with France. He had not sufficiently concerted with his English partisans the dethroning of James, the placing of James's crown upon his own head, and the embarking of England, with her national resources and antipathies, in the league of Europe against Louis XIV.

It is still an historical or party question, from what period William contemplated deposing James. If his own declarations were to be received as decisive evidence, the question would be easily settled. He assured his Catholic allies^c and the people of England,^d on the eve and during the progress of his enterprise, that he did not aim at the crown; that the sole object of his expedition was, to call a free parliament for the redress of grievances and the security of the Protestant religion. But princes and politicians assume a certain license in the morality of their transactions with each other and with the people. The prince of Orange could plead, in excuse of his expedient dissimulation, the allowances and exigencies of a perilous military enterprise, joined with a momentous political scheme.

Some have dated his design from the defeat and execution of the Duke of Monmouth. "My Lord Dartmouth," says James, "ever since the Duke of Monmouth's invasion, always told the King, that sooner or later he was confident the Prince of Orange

^a Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*

^b *Id. ibid.*

^c Letter of the Prince of Orange to the Emperor. *Dal. App.*

^d Declaration of the Prince of Orange.

would attempt it." ^a If Bishop Burnet may be relied on, the Prince aspired to the crown in 1686, when Burnet came to the Hague. The Bishop gives a circumstantial account of his conversations, on his arrival, with the Prince and Princess of Orange; who, he says, opened their minds to him with entire confidence. In no part of his history does he more offensively indulge his conceit and egotism. "The Prince," says he, "though naturally cold and reserved, laid aside a great deal of that with me."^b It would even appear, however incredible, that Burnet was the more reserved of the two. "I had a mind," says he, "to see a little into the Prince's notions, before I should engage myself deeper into his service. I was afraid lest his struggle with the Louvestein party, might have given him a jealousy of liberty and of a free government. He assured me it was quite the contrary; nothing but such a constitution could resist a powerful aggressor long, or have the credit necessary to raise such sums as a great war might require."^c The Prince, in a conference, by his account, of several hours with him, censured the King's proceedings, and disclosed his own views of government in Church and State with minute particularity. "I thought it necessary," adds the Bishop, "to enter with him into all these particulars, that so I might be furnished from his own mouth to give a full account of his sense to some in England."^d

Burnet further states, that "what particularly fixed him in the confidence of the Prince and Princess of Orange, was the liberty he took, in a private conversation with the Princess, to ask her, "what she intended the Prince should be if she came to the crown?"^e The Princess of Orange, it seems, did not even comprehend his meaning. She thought her husband must become king to all intents as a matter of course. This ignorance seems unaccountable in a lady next in succession to the crown, whom the Bishop had just described as "having great knowledge, with a true understanding." He, however, instructed her on the subject; referring in illustration to the marriages of Henry VII. and Elizabeth, Philip II. and Mary; "told her a titular kingship was no acceptable thing to a man, especially if it was to depend on another's life;" and upon being asked by her "to propose a re-

^a King James's MS. Mem., cited in "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 177.

^b Hist. of his Own Times, vol. iii. p. 131. Oxf. ed. 1823.

^c Ibid. p. 135.

^d Hist. of his Own Times, vol. iii. p. 136. Oxf. ed. 1823.

Ibid.

medy," advised her "to be contented to be merely the Prince's wife, engage herself to give him the real authority as soon as it came into her hands, and endeavour effectually to get it to be legally vested in him during his life; which would lay the greatest obligation on the Prince possible, and lay the foundation of a perfect union between them, which had of late been a little embroiled." She instantly gave the required assurance. The Prince had the reputation of being a despotic husband. His wife not only had no will of her own, but did not dare to murmur when she was outraged.* Mrs. Villiers, sister of the wife of Bentinck, and reputed mistress of the Prince, made no secret of her influence. The Princess only wrote her grievances privately to her sister, but the latter sharply desired Bentinck to check the insolence of his sister-in-law.^b

"I asked pardon," continues Burnet, "for having moved her in such a tender point; but I solemnly protested, that no person living had moved me in it, or so much as knew of it." Notwithstanding this solemn protestation of the Bishop, Lord Dartmouth has subjoined to this passage in Burnet's history^c the following observation:—"I take it for granted, that the Prince ordered Burnet to propose it to the Princess before he would engage in the attempt upon England; and she certainly must understand it so; for certainly such a little Scotch priest durst not have proposed altering the right of succession to the three kingdoms of his own head, though he had double the confidence he was known to have."

These passages prove, by conclusive implication, that the Prince of Orange at the time contemplated his being King of England. But the Prince could imagine himself king only on the supposition, that King James was deposed and the throne vacant. If the crown devolved upon the Princess, his wife, on her father's decease, he would not have the slightest ground to expect that the order of succession should be departed from, and the rights of the Princess Anne sacrificed in his favour. Nothing but the shock of a revolution, the necessities of the time, and the merit of a deliverance, could warrant a man of his sagacity in such an expectation; and it was only by a very small majority of one house of

* Account of the conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 123. Letter of Lord Nottingham. Dal. App.

^b *Négot. du Comte D'Avaux*, Aug. 1685. Fox MSS. ^c Oxf. ed. 1823.

parliament, that these causes, co-operating with others, raised him eventually to the throne.

But William proved at a much earlier period that he had little tenderness for the rights of his father-in-law. He declared his wish that the bill of exclusion should be carried, rather than the powers of the crown should be diminished.^a He received with pleasure the proposition of enacting, that the Princess should be regent during the life of her father;^b and it would appear, from a letter of Montague to him, after he became King, that he knew and approved the Rye House plot.^c

Penn came over to the Hague early in 1686, and had several audiences of the Prince. Without professing to have any mission, he was received as the envoy of James,^d and had authority from him.^e His object was to obtain the Prince's assent to the repeal of the penal and Test Acts; upon which condition "he undertook," says Burnet, "that the King would enter into an entire confidence with the Prince, and put his best friends in the chiefest trusts."^f

Bishop Burnet could never spare his depreciation of any person, from William Penn to Major Wilding, who came into collision or comparison with himself. He, on this occasion, describes Penn as "a vain talking man,"^g who "had such an opinion of his own faculty of persuading, that he thought none could stand against it," and "whom many suspected to be a concealed Papist." The suspicion was really and extensively entertained. It is thus the tolerant, benevolent, philosophic Christian is traduced by uncharitable bigotry, or still more uncharitable hypocrisy, in one age as a concealed Papist, in another as a concealed infidel.

The Prince was willing to abandon the penal laws, but adhered to the tests. The King would have all or nothing;^h and Penn's negotiation failed.

About the middle of the year 1686, Skelton, James's ambassador at the Hague, was appointed to the court of Versailles. His

^a Letter of the Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins. Dal. App. p. 306, *et seq.*

^b Id. *ibid.*

^c Letter of Lord Montague to King William. Dal. App. part ii. p. 339.

^d "Though he did not pretend any commission for what he promised, yet we (that is, Burnet and the Prince) looked upon him as a man employed." Bur. vol. iii. p. 140. Oxf. ed. 1823.

^e Clarkson's Life of William Penn.

^f Bur. Hist. of his Own Times, vol. iii. p. 139, &c. Oxf. ed. 1823.

^g *Ibid.* Swift has subjoined this note:—"He spoke very agreeably, and with much spirit."
^h *Ibid.*

successor, the Marquis d'Albyville, has been described as a person of disreputable life and character. Burnet mentions him as one White, an Irishman, who had long served the court of Spain in the capacity of a spy, and received from that court his title in discharge of his arrears. But the Bishop, who has been unjust to individuals from self-conceit or caprice, could not be expected to speak scrupulously of a Papist, an Irishman, and a personal enemy. The compiler of the Life of King James from his manuscript Memoirs, says that d'Albyville received his title from the Emperor;^a and the Dutch ambassador, Van Citters, in announcing his appointment to the States, mentions him as "formerly known by the name of Baron White, an Irishman and a Roman Catholic, of good understanding and good breeding, who conducted the business of the English monarchy for several years at Brussels and Madrid in the lifetime of the late King."^b D'Albyville, however, soon after his arrival at the Hague, was suspected of betraying James to the Prince of Orange,^c and both to Louis XIV.^d It would appear from his subsequent conduct, that he acted implicitly as the hired agent of Louis, under the orders of D'Avaux.^e In this he may not have consulted the real interests, but he certainly best consulted the personal views, of his master, for Louis judged much better for James than James for himself.

Louis XIV. granted D'Albyville, through Barillon, 300 guineas for his outfit, and a pension of 60,000 livres, in order to place him beyond the reach of temptation by the Prince of Orange.^f The Prince hardly deigned to speak to him.^g It is no wonder that a monarch thus gratuitously prodigal of gold, and having at his command the most expert and unprincipled intriguers, lay and spiritual, of Europe, penetrated the secrets of his neighbours and enemies.

Holland was the great asylum of English political refugees. This was a constant subject of discussion between James and the States. The King demanded that persons whom he called his rebel subjects should be sent out of the territories of the Republic; the States answered by illusory compliances, evasions, and

^a Vol. ii. p. 134.

^b Négot. du Comte D'Avaux. Fox MSS.

^c Lett. of Van Citt. 16th Aug. 1686.

^d Macph. Hist. of Great Britain.
^e "Il me paroît, Sire, que M. d'Albyville écrit fidèlement au Roi son maître tout ce dont nous convenons ensemble." Négot. du Comte d'Avaux. Fox MSS.
^f 14 Avril, 1687.

^g Corres. de Bar. Fox MSS.

^h D'Avaux to the King, 27th May, 1687.

delays.^a Van Citters, on one occasion, during an audience of the King, excused the delay in complying with his demands, as proceeding from the forms of the Dutch constitution. James rejoined, that a single letter from Cromwell sufficed to make the States send away the royal family.^b The fact proved only that the usurper knew how to make himself respected, and the King did not.

D'Albyville, before he even opened his commission,^c demanded, in the name of the King, that Burnet should be forbidden the presence of the Prince and Princess of Orange. The historian of his own times would have it supposed that he was proscribed for his importance as a politician. It was only as a pamphleteer that he provoked the King's resentment. Pamphlets printed by him, and other partisans of the Prince of Orange, at Amsterdam and the Hague, were circulated privately in England; and such virtue is there in the press, that it can reach the tyrant and disturb his rest, when nothing else can, short of the appeal to Heaven.

The King had already written two letters of complaint respecting Burnet, to his daughter. The Bishop relates, with the utmost complacency, how a dutiful and religious princess replied to her father's letters, "according to the hints suggested" by the very man whom her father desired she would dismiss; and how the Prince and Princess were both so true to their promise of dismissing him, "that, instead of seeing him henceforth, they communicated to him the whole secret of English affairs through Dyckvelt and Halewyn."^d

The arrival of Bonrepaux, a special envoy of Louis XIV. to James, in the spring of 1686, alarmed the Dutch, Spanish, and Imperial ambassadors. They suspected the negociation of a secret treaty, offensive and defensive, between the courts of France and England. A paper, containing reasons in favour of an alliance with France for the especial purpose of attacking and extirpating the Republic of Holland, and purporting to be addressed to the King in council, came into the hands of Don Pedro Ronquillo, ambassador of the King of Spain. That dexterous minister, instead of acting in person, instructed the ambassador of the States, as the party chiefly interested, to sound the designs of the King.

There are two versions of what passed in several conferences on the subject between the King and Van Citters: one by Van Cit-

^a Van Citters, 31st May, 1686.

^b Bar. vol. iii. p. 173. Oxf. ed. 1823.

^c Letter of Van Citters, 25th June, 1686.

^d Id. *ibid*.

ters to the States ;^a the other by his confederate director, Ronquillo, addressed to the King of Spain.^b

The despatch of the Spaniard is curiously distinctive of the indigent grandeur of the Spanish monarchy, and the peculiar genius of the Spanish nation. It opens with his despair on the arrival of the post from Spain, without bringing him any supplies. He saw himself reduced to the necessity of abandoning the court, and shutting himself up in his own house; he was unable to maintain or to discharge his household; his spies would no longer serve him; and all this, at the critical moment when the French were straining every nerve to engage the King of England into an alliance with the King of France. The ingenious diplomatist, however, having sent his household to subsist in London, contrived to maintain his post, without a suite, at Windsor; and not only discovered, he says, all that passed in this important negotiation, but obtained, partly by threats, partly by promises, a copy of the above mentioned paper, which he placed in the hands of Van Citters. There is, in reference to his promises, a light touch of humour, characteristic and worthy of the countryman of Cervantes,—"God and your Majesty," says he, in a parenthesis, "know whether they will be fulfilled."^c

The King, having received the paper from Van Citters, declared it a fabrication by the gazetteers of Amsterdam, or by some in England, who sought to render him odious to his subjects; and expressed his earnest desire to cultivate the friendship of the States. Van Citters, if he may be believed, resolutely insisted that the memorial was genuine; ascribed it to the Catholic party and court priests; and said that he could astonish the King, by naming the author.^d It is strange that the offer, if made, was not accepted. The tone in which the Dutch minister vaunts his own boldness, and takes the whole credit of having obtained the paper, without mentioning Ronquillo, throws some doubt on this part of his account.

James may have, as he declared, seen the paper then for the first time. He may, also, have believed it spurious. But the evidence, external and internal, is in favour of its authenticity. It was probably drawn up by Bonrepaux. The tone is French,

^a Letters of Van Citt. 9th and 27th August, 1688.

^b Letter of Don Ped. Ronq. August, 1686.

^c "Dios y V. M. sabra si se compliran."

^d Letter of Van Citt. ubi supra.

and it was transmitted in the French language to the States, by Van Citters, who wrote his despatches in Dutch.* The original, therefore, may be presumed to have been French.

The Dutch ambassador at the same time told the King, that according to recent letters from Constantinople, received by an eminent Smyrna merchant named Vernon, the French minister there had just announced to the Sultan the conclusion of a treaty between his master and the King of England, having for its object a joint attack upon Holland, which would divert the attention and forces of the Emperor from the side of Turkey to the Rhine. Bishop Burnet, one of the most strenuous asserters of this pretended French alliance, which had so great a share in driving James from the throne,^c gives, as conclusive evidence of it, a declaration made to him by Sir William Trumbull, then minister at the Porte, that the French ambassador surprised him one morning by a visit without the usual forms, to announce, on the authority of a letter in cipher from M. de Croissy, which he produced, the conclusion of a new treaty between their respective masters, whose interests were thenceforth identical.^d The answer of the King to Van Citters applies equally to Burnet. He said, "that of the proceedings of the French ambassador at Constantinople he knew nothing; but if he acted in the manner alleged, it could only be a French artifice to dissuade the Turks from making peace with the Emperor. The King further denied the existence of any new alliance, actual or prospective, with France. His last words in a private audience to Van Citters were, that he and the other foreign ministers should not allow themselves to be deceived by French intrigues and artifices."^e Both the Dutch and Spanish ministers assured their respective governments that the overtures made by Bonrepaux were declined by James.^f

The ministers of the powers confederated against France tried to work upon the King's pride. They intimated to him, that he was treated by Louis, and regarded by others, as a vassal of France. This delicate topic was touched on by Van Citters. James repudiated the supposition with indignant vivacity; repeated several times, with much heat,—"*Vassal ! vassal de France !*" and added,

* Letter of Van Citt. 16th Aug. 1686.

^b The Spanish version, transmitted by Ronquillo, will be found in the Appendix.

^c Sherlock's Letter to a member of the Convention.

^d Bur. vol. iii. p. 290. Oxf. ed. 1823.

^e Letter of Don Ped. Ronq. ubi suprà.

^f Van Citt. and Ronq. ubi suprà.

in a solemn tone,—“ Sir, if the Parliament enabled me, I would bring the kingdom to a height of consideration, abroad and at home, never reached under any of my predecessors.”^a More credit would be due to this declaration, if he were not, at the moment, the stipendiary of the King of France. James, however, while he received and solicited the degrading liberality of Louis, manifested, it will be observed, to the last, a reluctance to commit himself implicitly in his protector's train. He would, perhaps, have even joined the Prince of Orange against the King of France, provided the English nation placed its laws, liberties, and religion at his feet.

Great activity was observable in improving the condition and increasing the force of the navy. Van Citters mentioned this to the King as a source of alarm to the States. He replied, that the neglect or incapacity of the naval administration for several years, rendered necessary a complete system of repairs and equipment; and declared that his object was not war, but to place himself in such an attitude as to command respect abroad, and maintain the peace of Europe. There appears no good reason to doubt his sincerity. He had no motive for lending himself to the mere aggrandisement of Louis XIV. His great object was to rule his kingdom without parliaments and above the laws; and peace abroad was favourable, if not necessary, to his establishment of tyranny at home. It should be observed, that he was jealous of the Dutch government, not because it was Protestant and Republican, but because its laws and policy afforded an asylum to English refugees, and its Protestantism and the interests of the Prince of Orange interfered directly with his designs of rendering his government tyrannical.

D'Albyville repeated to the States the same pacific declarations which the King had made to their ambassador; urged in the King's name the expulsion of the obnoxious English exiles; and, in private conferences with the Prince and Princess of Orange, assured them, in pursuance of his instructions, “ that the King never intended to wrong them in the right of succession.”^b He repeated, at the same time, the desire, which James had conveyed through Penn, that they would sanction the repeal of the penal and Test Acts,—even for their own sakes, as a restraint upon the royal prerogative; ^c—

^a Letter of Van Citt. 27th Aug. 1686.

^b Bur. vol. iii. p. 175, 176. Oxf. ed. 1823.

^c Ibid. p. 174.

declared, according to Burnet, that the King not only condemned the proceedings, but despised the bigotry of Louis XIV., who allowed himself to be governed by the Archbishop of Paris and Madame de Maintenon ;^a and appealed to the King's hospitable reception of the French Protestant refugees as evidence of his tolerant liberality. The States professed themselves satisfied ; but the Prince, doubting the sincerity, or unconvinced by the arguments of the King, or determined only by his own secret purposes, repeated in substance to D'Albyville the refusal to sanction the repeal of the tests which he had given to Penn.

It is improbable that D'Albyville really made those contemptuous reflections upon Louis XIV. It is incredible that he should have been authorised to make them by James. But the envoy may be presumed to have conveyed the King's opinion of the persecution of the French Protestants, as it was expressed by the King himself to the Spanish and Dutch ministers. James admitted to the Spanish minister that Louis XIV. had the same right to revoke, which Henry IV. had to grant, the edict of Nantes, but declared, both to Ronquillo and Van Citters, that he abhorred the employment of "the booted missionaries,"^b both as impolitic and unchristian ;^c that though he wished to see his own religion embraced, he thought it contrary to the precepts of Holy Writ to force conscience ; that he only expected to see his Catholic subjects enjoying the freedom of other Englishmen, not treated as if they were traitors ;^d that he designed no more than establishing the same liberty of conscience which was so beneficially allowed by the States themselves ; and that he expected the States would not interfere with his measures for this end.^e Van Citters, in reply, assured him, that their High Mightinesses would not interfere with his proceedings in reference to religion, which they regarded as a domestic matter to be left to the King's prudence and the providence of God.^f

The professions of respect for liberty of conscience made by James, were, it will be said, hollow and perfidious.

Religious prejudice is of all others the most unjust and blind. Protestants found it impossible in the seventeenth, and find it difficult in the nineteenth, centuries, to dissociate Popery and intolerance. An opinion of the good or bad faith of James is uncalled

^a Ibid. p. 176.

^b Letter of Van Citter, 9th Aug.

^c Van Citter. *ubi supra*.

^d Letter of Don Ped. Ronq. 12th April, 1686.

^e Ronq. *ubi supra*.

^f Letter of Van Citter. 9th Aug.

for here. It may be observed, however, in fairness to his memory and religion, that where he violated law, he unmanacled conscience; that a believer in the dogmas of the Church of Rome, and even a zealot for proselytism, is not necessarily a persecutor; that Fenelon interfered in the truest spirit of toleration and charity for the persecuted Protestants of France, whilst the Protestant bishops of England to a man forged the chains and urged the persecution of English papists and dissenters; finally, that from the restoration of Charles, to the first declaration of indulgence by James, "above 15,000 families had been ruined, and more than 5000 persons had died in bonds, for mere matters of conscience to God:"^a that is, victims to the intolerant ascendancy of the Church of England.

The statement of Burnet respecting the King's assurances, through D'Albyville, of "wronging the Prince and Princess of Orange in the succession to the crown," is corroborated. Van Citters writes to the States, that the King, in the same audience in which he denied the alliance with France, repudiated with vehemence the supposition of his promoting his religion by defrauding his children of their inheritance.^b At a subsequent period he repeated this assurance, in a holograph letter to D'Albyville, which that envoy placed in the hands of D'Avaux.^c The order of succession, then, must have been regarded by the Prince as threatened and insecure.

This matter is involved in obscurity. No idea of the queen's actual or future pregnancy was then entertained. What Catholic successor to the exclusion of the Princess of Orange could have been in contemplation?

The views of James and Louis are supposed to have been fixed upon the Prince and Princess of Denmark. Barillon, the resident minister, a man of pleasure rather than of business,^d was better suited to the court of Charles than to that of James. Denmark was at this period the ally of France. Accordingly, Bonrepaux, the special envoy, was charged or charged himself with sounding the Danish ambassador respecting the conversion of Prince George of Denmark. It was suggested to him, that his conversion and that of

^a William Penn's "Good Advice," &c., cited in Clarkson's Life of Penn.

^b Dutch Pol. Corres., ubi supra.

^c Nég. du Comte d'Avaux, 22 Av. 1687. Fox MSS.

^d Volt. Siècle de Louis XIV.

the princess his wife, would induce the King to exclude the elder sister from the throne in favour of the younger. The ambassador, after conferring with the Prince, held out to Bonrepaux confident hopes of success.^a Prince George, from his want of capacity and character, was governed wholly by others. When it was in contemplation to put him forward as a candidate for the throne of Poland, his friends determined for him that he should become a Catholic.^b His conversion or conformity, therefore, could be easily brought about. The conversion of the Princess was expected to follow as a matter of course.^c Bonrepaux describes her as timid, ambitious, hating the queen, receiving books of controversy obligingly, and, like her husband, willing to be instructed. But ignorant bigotry and vulgar temper constituted in this Princess a spurious force of character, which rendered it difficult to change her convictions, or make her bend them to her ambition; and her father never offered the slightest violence to her religion. For these, and perhaps other reasons, the intrigue of Bonrepaux failed. There is no good evidence that James was a party to it, and an intrigue so fruitless and transient could scarcely have alarmed the Prince of Orange.

Bonrepaux, on the eve of his departure, writes to Seignelai, that Lord Sunderland had made to him an overture, which he thought it imprudent to communicate in writing until he had reached Calais.^d There is no trace of this overture in the MS. letters of Barillon, Bonrepaux, or D'Avaux, obtained from the French archives by Mr. Fox.^e The perpetual shifting and duplicity of Sunderland add to the difficulties of conjecture. An opinion may be hazarded that it related to the succession. It was at this period, that Bonrepaux described James, as finding it hard to conceal his dislike of the Prince; and Barillon, in a despatch to his master, early in the following year, writes, that the Dutch and Spanish ambassadors were in the greatest fear of James's doing something entirely adverse to the interests of the Prince of Orange. It will be found, that, consistently with dates, the intrigue of Tyrconnel with Louis XIV., founded on the known inclination of James to deprive a Protestant successor of the crown of Ireland,

^a Bonrepaux to Seignelai, March, 1686. Fox MSS.

^b Halifax MS.

^c Bonr. to Seig. Ibid.

^d Bon. to Seig., April, 1686. Fox MSS.

^e Fox MSS. in the possession of Lord Holland.

^f "Quelque chose entièrement opposée aux intérêts du Prince d'Orange," Barillon au Roi, 10 Mars, 1689. Fox MSS.

will not account for the fears entertained at this period for the Protestant succession to the crown.

The petty diplomacy of Barillon, Bonrepaux, D'Albyville, and D'Avaux, vanished before the antagonist mission of Dyckvelt, sent over to England by the Prince of Orange. Dyckvelt arrived in London on the 18th of February, 1686-7. His instructions, as stated by Burnet, who professes to have drawn them up, bore in substance, that he should expostulate, respectfully but firmly, with the King on his policy at home and abroad; that is, with reference to the Catholics and his connexion with France; that he should endeavour to bring the King to a better understanding with the Prince; that he should assure the Church party of the Prince's firm attachment to the Church of England; that he should press the Dissenters to stand off from the Court, and not be drawn in by any promises of the King to assist him in the elections; that he should hold out to them a full toleration, with the hopes of "a comprehension" in "a better time," if they then stood firm; that he should do away certain impressions respecting the Prince;—for instance, the suspicion of the Church party "that he was a Presbyterian;" of the Dissenters, "that he was arbitrary and imperious;" and the report, "which some," says the Bishop, "had the impudence to give out, that he was a Papist."^a

The Church party must have had a more than common share of self-complacent credulity to be brought to suppose, that a Dutch Calvinist felt zeal for the Church of England. The notion of the Dissenters, that he was "arbitrary and imperious," proved too well founded after his accession to the throne.^c As to the report of his being "a papist," it originated, doubtless, in certain politic manifestations of favour to the Catholics, made by him at various times, to James,^d the Emperor, and Innocent XI.^e

It would be a wrong to the character, and a misapprehension of the genius, of the Prince of Orange, to suppose that he set the value which he professed to set upon religious tests. Inheriting the principles, and living in the practice of religious freedom,—essentially a politician,—ambitious and enlightened,—he must have been

^a Bar. iii. p. 173, etc. Oxf. ed. 183.

^b Ibid. p. 174.

^c His arbitrary disposition has been laid to the account of his Dutch advisers. "Dyckvelt," says Lord Halifax, "put the King on arbitrary counsels." (Hal. MS.

^d Le Roi à Bar., 2 Juin, 1687. Fox MSS.

^e Burn. pp. 174, 175. Oxf. ed. Note by Lord Dartmouth.

sensible of their mischievous bigotry and injustice; but to abandon the tests would have been to alienate his party in England, and thus throw up the great game of succeeding in his own person to the crown.

One article only of Dyckvelt's instructions came within the legitimate range of the rights and duties of an ambassador; that which related to his course of proceeding with the King. The rest was a warrant for improper practice with the King's subjects. But the nearest interests of the Prince of Orange were at stake; the subjects of James conspired with a foreign Prince for their laws and liberties; and in such a case men do not look very narrowly into the obligations of international and municipal jurisprudence.

D'Albyville, a Catholic, was forced by James upon the States-general and the Prince. He was obnoxious to both, not perhaps for his mere religion, but for the fidelity which it implied to the designs of the King. The States refused him, on a point of form, the honours of a ceremonial public audience, and James, in consequence, would not, at first, receive Dyckvelt either publicly or privately. After the lapse of several days, the States yielded, and the King told Van Citters that Dyckvelt might see him as soon and as often as he pleased.^a

James suspected the objects of the mission. He penetrated the very instructions given to Dyckvelt by the Prince. Conversing with the nuncio, he said, the object of Dyckvelt was to observe his measures in favour of the Catholics, reinstate the Prince in his good graces, by making him come into the measures of the Prince, not the Prince, as in duty bound,^b into his; and if this could not be effected, to stir up faction in the court, the city, and the Parliament; "for the Prince," he added, "was a partisan of the test, and a sly Presbyterian."^c

On the 3d of March, the King received Dyckvelt with marked expressions of personal civility and public friendship. He discarded or dissembled his suspicions. "The King," says Van Citters, "no longer suspects M. Dyckvelt of secret designs to the prejudice of his affairs."^d Dyckvelt urged upon him, in substance,

^a Lett. of Van Citt. Feb. 25. 1686-7.

^b "Come sarebbe il dovere." D'Adda, Feb. 7, 1686-7.

^c "Un testardo ed un Calvinista finissimo." The words, "sly Presbyterian," are written in the margin of the Italian MS. by Sir J. Mackintosh, as the translation of "Calvinista finissimo," and have therefore been adopted.

^d Dutch Pol. Correa. ubi suprà.

how easily he might, with his resources, if he pleased, be secure at home and the arbiter of affairs abroad, and laboured to convince him that the abolition of the tests would but lead to a commonwealth.^a

The King, in answer, required that the Prince should submit implicitly to his will, as he was head of the family. Dyckvelt observed, that the Prince had carried his complaisance to the utmost length, short of giving up his religion. James did not condescend to reply;^b but Sunderland and the other ministers still pressed the envoy, and engaged that if the Prince concurred in the abolition of the tests, "the King would go into close measures with him against France."^c Dyckvelt cut the matter short by declaring that the Prince could never be brought to hearken to any proposition involving his consent to the repeal of the tests.^d

Burnet professes to have received this account of the mission from Dyckvelt himself.^e It is unfaithful in a material point. The fact is suppressed by the envoy or the historian, that Dyckvelt for a time concurred in the King's measures. His concurrence is placed beyond doubt by the despatches sent from London to D'Albyville, at the Hague;^f and by a letter of Don Pedro Ronquillo to the King of Spain.^g The Spanish minister expressed to Dyckvelt his surprise that the latter should oppose the establishment of liberty of conscience, after having fully approved it ten days before.^h Dyckvelt replied, that his opinion was changed by communication with leading persons of the Anglican or Church of England party, who convinced him that if the test were removed, England, on the King's death, would become a republic, which would prove ruinous to Holland; and by his own fears of French influence in the King's councils. The Dutch envoy, by entering into the King's views respecting the tests, evidently departed from his instructions. His motives cannot be assigned with precision or certainty. The King's earnest assurances of a desire to maintain peace with the States,—of his readiness even to make common cause with the Dutch for the maintenance of the peace of Europe,ⁱ —of his intention not to invade the rights of the Protestants, but simply to give liberty of conscience to the Catholics, by which

^a Bur. vol. iii. p. 177. Oxf. ed.

^b Ibid.

^c Ibid.

^d D'Avaux, 22 Av. 1687. Fox MSS.

^e MS. Letter of Ronq. 26th May, 1687.

^f Dutch Pol. Cor. Letter of Dyck., 4th and 18th March, 1687.

^g Bur. vol. iii. p. 178.

^h Bur. vol. iii. p. 178.

ⁱ Id. *ibid.*

Dyckvelt is stated to have been surprised and gratified^a—these assurances, joined with the influence of the imperial and Spanish ministers,^b may have brought him to assent to the measures of James.

His change of opinion, or rather relapse to his instructions, is more clearly accounted for. The High Church party, as he told Ronquillo, played upon his fears of a republic; the Whig opposition told him he should place no trust in the King,^c and the Prince of Orange was put upon his guard by a more specific warning, treacherously conveyed from the bosom of the ill-fated King's most secret councils. Lady Sunderland addressed a letter with extraordinary precautions of secrecy, to the Prince, informing him of a scheme laid by the government of which her husband was the head, "to flatter Monsieur Dyckvelt with a great many fine things; that there shall be an entire union between England and Holland, etc., and for this (she says) they ask you to bid Monsieur Dyckvelt and Monsieur Citters declare, in your name, that you wish the Parliament would take off these laws, and that you think it reasonable they should do so. By this means they fancy they can compass their point, which, when done, I think 'tis plain the article upon your part is upon record, theirs only verbal; your Highness is the best judge of the likelihood of its being performed."

Two questions may here suggest themselves; the first, whether the offers of the King were deceitful or sincere; the second, whether the letter of Lady Sunderland was written with or without the participation of her husband. There are strong grounds for pronouncing against the sincerity of James. He could not, without violences almost inconceivable, overcome his sympathies, and sever his connexion, religious, political, and pecuniary, with Louis XIV. It is true he was a conscientious religionist, but his political morality was like that of other kings and princes; and he would not scruple to deceive a son-in-law, whom with good reason he hated and feared. His proposition, then, of joining the confederacy against France, may be regarded as a lure to obtain the assent of the Prince to the repeal of the tests, for the purpose of ruining his credit in England.

There appears no direct proof that Lord Sunderland dictated

^a D'Avaux, ubi supra.

^b MS. Lett. of Don Ped. Ronq., 26th May, 1687.

^c Letter of Ronq. ubi supra.

^d Dal. App. part i. p. 211.

the letter of his wife; but the circumstances seem conclusive of the fact. He was receiving at the time a French pension, dependent upon his master's continuance in the interests of France. By the warning conveyed in his wife's letter, he would at once establish a claim on the Prince, and widen the breach between the Prince and the King, for the greater security of his pension from Louis. This seems to bear the impress of his intriguing genius.

It may be, and has been supposed, that Lady Sunderland was moved by over-ruling sentiments of religion and patriotism, to address a letter so extraordinary to one with whom she had no previous correspondence, and little or no personal acquaintance. Her character is transmitted by her contemporaries with a perplexing diversity of judgment. She is represented as an excellent person, whose Protestant zeal was a standing reproach to her husband's apostasy,^a—as a woman of subtle wit and admirable address,^b—as familiar with intrigues of gallantry and politics,^c—as a fawning, dissembling flatterer,—as a hypocrite, whose religion was but artifice and ostentation.^d

The first and favourable testimony to her character would bear out the supposition that she acted from herself. It is that of Evelyn, a most respectable witness, but one upon the simplicity of whose virtues, and sincerity of whose high Church zeal, a woman of "subtle wit," who made a show of devotion, might easily impose. A passage in one of his letters, addressed to Lady Sunderland, favours this opinion:—"I am not unmindfull," says he, "of the late com'and you layed upon me to give you a catalogue of such books as I believed might be fit to entertain your more devout and serious hours."^e The Princess Anne, writing to her sister of the person who sought such virtuous entertainment for her serious hours, says, "I can't end my letter without telling you that Lady Sunderland plays the hypocrite more than ever, for she goes to St. Martin's in the morning and afternoon, because there are not people enough to see her at Whitehall Chapel, and is, half an hour before other people come, and half an hour after every body is gone, at her private devotions. She runs from church to church

^a Evelyn's Dia.

^b Kennet, vol. iii. p. 488.

^c Bonr. to Seign., 21st July, 1697. Fox MSS. D'Avauz, 20th May, 1688. Fox MSS.

^d Letters of the Princess Anne to the Princess of Orange. Dal. App.

^e Ev. Dia. vol. ii. p. 268.

after the famousest preachers, and keeps such a clatter with her devotions that it really turns one's stomach."^a This vigorous sketch may be somewhat overcharged, but the suspicion is irresistible, that the person who was its subject, played upon both the literary vanity and pious zeal of Evelyn.

The letter was communicated to the Prince through Sidney, his chief English confidant in preparing the Revolution, and the reputed lover of Lady Sunderland. It was, notwithstanding, talked of in London and at the Hague. Sunderland vindicated himself from all share in it by the impossibility of his trusting Sidney, a man whom he must hate as the known lover of his wife.^b D'Avaux, on the other hand, treats the favour of Sidney with the lady as the source of his influence over her lord.^c Skelton, when minister at the Hague, was instructed by Sunderland to give his confidence to Sidney; his suspicions were awakened, and he henceforth made unreserved communications respecting Sidney and the Prince of Orange only to James himself. D'Albyville entertained and acted on the same suspicions of an understanding between Sidney and Sunderland. D'Avaux, writing to Louis, says, he had it from James's three last ambassadors at the Hague, that the Prince of Orange was acquainted with every secret of James's cabinet.^d Bonrepaux, who far exceeded Barillon in penetration and dexterity, writes to his court in July, 1687, soon after the return of Dyckvelt to the Hague, that of the chief counsellors of James only one served him with single-minded fidelity. Sunderland, Godolphin, and Churchill, he says, already worked in secret to merit the favour of the Prince of Orange. The solitary exception was the Chancellor Jeffreys, a madman, says Bonrepaux, who did all that was desired of him without providing for the future.^e

The Revolution of 1688 has, among many advantages, the signal one of having been bloodless. But whilst other great political changes in nations and governments have been achieved by resolute spirits from motives of ambition, vengeance, love of liberty, or love of country, it will be found that in the ruin of James and

^a Letters of the Princess Anne. Dal. App.

^b Bonr. to Seig. 21st July, 1687. Fox MSS.

^c Nég. du Comte D'Avaux. Fox MSS.

^d Nég. du Comte D'Avaux, 20th May, 1688. Fox MSS.

^e Un extravagant qui fait tout ce qu'on veut, et le seul, peut-être, qui ne prend pas des mesures secrètes.

elevation of William, the dominant elements were intrigue, perfidy, and intolerance.

Dyckvelt returned to the Hague at the end of May. An envoy extraordinary from the Emperor had come to London at the same time, on the suggestion of the Prince of Orange, for the purpose of co-operating with the Dutch envoy in detaching James from the King of France.^a The ministers of two princes so zealously Catholic as the Emperor and the King of Spain must have thought the proffered accession of James to the confederacy, upon the condition of the Prince's assent to the removal of the tests, a most reasonable overture, and urged its acceptance. By what arguments or promises, by what exercise of his authority or address, the Prince reconciled his Catholic confederates to his refusal, has not appeared. The knowledge is perhaps, still attainable from the archives of the Vatican, Vienna, and Madrid. It would throw a new and valuable light upon the personal character of William and the history of his time. Louis XIV., writing to D'Avaux when the Prince had just sailed on his expedition to England, expresses the most serious fears for the Catholic religion, if the Prince of Orange should prove as fortunate in seducing the people of England as he had been in imposing on the courts of Rome, Vienna, and Madrid.^b It may be suggested, without rashness, that he held out hopes of relief to the Roman Catholics which he did not afterwards fulfil. But it is due to him to add, that the Protestant bigotry, which had too great a share in the Revolution, confined religious freedom within a party or a sect, and debarred King William from acting on his own views.

A material fact, it has been shown, is suppressed in Bishop Burnet's account of the mission. It is further doubtful whether Dyckvelt addressed the King on the subject of the tests, in the tone for which he has received credit from the historian. The envoy himself, in a letter to the States, says, that "the King, in his private cabinet, communicated to him his determination to give liberty of conscience in religion to all his subjects, in the manner of their High Mightinesses, adding many Christian and politic considerations and reasons, and stating that a proclamation of his intentions, provisionally to be inserted in the Gazette, was already drawn

^a D'Avaux, 14th Aug. 1687. Fox MSS.

^b S'il est aussi heureux à séduire le peuple d'Angleterre qu'il a été à tromper les cours de Rome, Vienne et Madrid, il ne faut pas douter que notre religion ne reçoive un très-grand préjudice. Louis to D'Avaux, Nov. 1686. Fox MSS.

up in council.”^a Dyckvelt, in this despatch, does not allude to any objections made by him in his own name, or in that of the Prince. The King charged him at his departure with a letter to the States, bearing the most flattering testimony to his conduct,^b and even made him the vehicle of his reasons for removing the tests to be communicated to the Prince of Orange.^c Facts and circumstances thus appear to negative Dyckvelt’s having remonstrated with the King on the subject of the tests, in a tone so peremptory and decisive as Burnet represents him to have used. He, however, did suggest or propose objections: Barillon mentions, as Dyckvelt’s chief argument, that the adherence of the Prince and Princess to the high Protestant party promoted the tranquillity of his kingdom, and the interests of the Catholics themselves, by preventing the nation from proceeding to extremities.^d It would appear from a despatch of D’Avaux,^e and from the ungenerous letter of the Emperor to James in his subsequent ill fortune, that the imperial envoy took the same view, and advised him to desist;^f but nothing could check James in his ill-starred career.

Deceived by Dyckvelt, and supposing, perhaps, that Dyckvelt was duped by him, the King had hopes of finding the Prince more tractable upon the envoy’s return. He was not a little disappointed by the contrary effect. The Prince, on the return of Dyckvelt, declared still more firmly against the removal of the tests.^g This is easily accounted for. The King, soon after Dyckvelt’s departure, knew the fact, but not the extent of the Dutch envoy’s intrigues. Dyckvelt himself could not conceal his triumph on the eve of his departure.^h He left England for the Hague, charged with letters to the Prince of Orange from leading persons, both Tories and Whigs, couched in terms so explicit that this mission may be regarded as the first step in the conspiracy which produced the revolution.ⁱ

Lord Churchill answers for the Protestantism of the Princess Anne, “even to death;” declares for himself, “that he sets at nought his places and the King’s favour, in comparison with being

^a Dutch Pol. Cor. Dyck. 1st April, 1687. (The declaration of indulgence appeared on the 4th of April.)

^b Vous ne pouviez pas faire meilleur choix d’aucun ministre,—sa personne nous ayant été si agréable, et sa conduite si sage.

^c The King to the P. of Orange. Dal. App.

^d D’Avaux, 14th Aug. 1687. Fox MSS.

^e D’Avaux, 19 Juin, 1687.

^f See Dyckvelt’s mission in Dal. App.

^g Bar. 12 Juin, 87. Fox MSS.

^h Life of K. James.

ⁱ D’Adda, 13th June, 1687.

true to his religion;”—that “in all things else” the King may command “his life,” and that “though he cannot live the life of a saint, he will show the resolution of a martyr.”

The favourite of a king, through one of the most degrading of all relations,—that of brother of the King’s mistress,—he could not, in reason or consistency, be expected to have lived the life of a saint, or when he promised disinterested zeal, and the resolution of a martyr, to keep his word. Accordingly, Lord Churchill continued to profit by the places, and betray the confidence of James, whilst James had places to bestow; changed sides with fortune, that guide of the base; and has left the name of Marlborough, like that of Bacon, a perpetual memorial to mankind of the excellence of human capacity, and infirmity of human nature.

Lord Nottingham professed unbounded zeal for the Prince of Orange, assured him that he was looked to as their sole refuge by the Protestants, and refers him for particulars to Dyckvelt. It will be found that, when the hour of trial came, Nottingham’s conscience revolted, or his heart failed him. The brothers Clarendon and Rochester employed, in their letters, mere general terms of compliment and respect. Skelton, when minister at the Hague, told D’Avaux that the Prince of Orange endeavoured to gain over Rochester upon his dismissal from office: “the letter of Rochester was written in answer to one from the Prince, and its evasive generalities may have had a share in provoking the dislike with which he was ever after regarded by William. Rochester himself” supposes that the displeasure of the Prince of Orange proceeded from his not “paying his duty to his Highness when last out of England,” and merely asks pardon for the omission, without offering any explanation. The compiler of the “Life of King James” explains it in a curious manner. “Rochester asked the King’s leave to go to Spa, under the pretence of ill-health, but in reality to see the Prince of Orange. The King granted him leave, with the embarrassing restriction that he should not take Holland in his way. He could neither disobey the King, nor give up his journey, without betraying his intention; and by this involuntary slight he offended the Prince. It appears,

* D’Avaux, 19th April, 1688. Fox MSS.

† Rochester to the Prince of Orange, 10th July, 1688. Dal. App.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 102.

however, from Rochester's own letter, that the Prince had "diverse reasons for being unsatisfied" with him. The fact probably was, that the Prince of Orange, having failed to win him over to his interests, freely vented his disappointment and disgust. William, whilst his design upon England was still pending, discarded irresolute and trimming partisans. Nottingham and Halifax may be cited as instances. It is true he employed them afterwards, but it is not certain that they possessed his confidence or overcame his contempt.

A spirit of petty jealousy of each other is observable among the chief actors in the Revolution of 1688. Lord Danby insinuates distrust of Lord Halifax, to whom Dyckvelt was accredited by the Prince,^a and proposes that a deputation of the party should have a personal conference with him. The Earl of Devonshire, whose zeal as a Protestant and patriot was stimulated by a heavy fine to which he was condemned for striking Colonel Culpepper in the King's palace, declares his readiness, in common with thousands, to receive the Prince's orders on any occasion. Lord Shrewsbury, converted from popery to protestantism, professes all the devotion and zeal of a new convert. The Bishop of London says that he and others pray for the Prince of Orange, not only on account of "his near relation to the crown," but for "his usefulness to it;"—"for if," says this prelate, "the King should have any trouble come upon him, which God forbid, we do not know any sure friend he has to rely upon abroad besides yourself." It seems difficult to take those expressions in any other sense than that of simplicity so gross as to be wholly irreconcilable with the character of Compton; or of hypocrisy to a pitch of grossness and grimace which it would be indecent to suppose even in that bold prevaricator.^b

Dyckvelt was not long gone when the death of the Duchess of Modena afforded an opportunity for sending over another emissary, under pretence of condoling with her daughter, Mary D'Este, James's Queen. The person sent was Count Zuylistein, who stood high in the Prince's confidence; was his relative; and under the careless gallantry of a soldier and man of pleasure, concealed an expert capacity for business and intrigue.^c James at this period

^a Letter of Lord Danby. Dal. App. part i.

^b See his answers to the King, post.

^c Lord Mordaunt to the Prince of Orange. Dal. App.

had announced his intention of calling a new parliament. It was a leading object of the mission of Zuylistein to discover whether this promise would be kept. Whilst a hope remained that rights would be secured and wrongs redressed by the constitutional agency of a parliament, it was feared at the Hague that the mass of the nation, and the leading party chiefs, would shrink from the extremities of foreign invasion and domestic war.

It is stated by Burnet,^a that Lord Mordaunt proposed to the Prince of Orange, in 1686, a descent upon England, and that the Prince rejected the proposition only because at the moment it was too perilous and romantic. A letter of that nobleman, carried over by Zuylistein to the Prince, confirms the statement. He now, however,^d recommends caution and delay,^e chiefly on the ground that a parliament may be summoned. Nottingham, on the other hand, reasons at length against the probability of a parliament, and upon the weakness of the court, but suggests no proceeding.^c Lord Halifax at the same time addressed to the Prince of Orange several letters, which display every felicity of judgment, wit, and style, and yet inspired the Prince with distrust of his motives or his character. He describes the court as infatuated, the nation as alienated and on the alert, the Dissenters as falling off, the moderate Catholics as alarmed: he steadily and sagaciously declares his conviction throughout, that, whatever the promises or proclamations of James, England would not see another parliament in his reign; and yet he most inconsistently recommends to the Prince of Orange caution, delay, and an attendance upon the course of events.^d The Prince, to whom such counsels were far from congenial, gave directions that his secrets should no longer be confided to one so irresolute, vacillating, or intriguing.^e Lord Danby alone, of those who were then leading politicians, and whose names are become historic, appears to have advised decisive measures,^f without reference to the question of the calling or not calling of a parliament, and continued to urge a personal conference with the Prince.^g

Bishop Burnet states that Lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, Devon-

^a Vol. iii. p. 275. Oxf. ed.

^b 4th Sept. 1687. Dal. App.

^c Letter of Nottingham to the Prince of Orange. Mission of Zuylistein. Dal.

App.

^d Letters of Halifax to the Prince of Orange. Mission of Zuylistein. Dall.

App.

^e Dal. App.

Burn. vol. iii. p. 278. Ox. ed. 1823.

^f Lett. of Lord Danby. Dall. App.

shire, Danby, Nottingham, Mordaunt, Lumley, Admirals Herbert and Russel, and the Bishop of London, "often met at the Earl of Shrewsbury's, there concerted matters, and drew the declaration on which they advised the Prince to engage." Concert upon any matter of decisive importance was scarcely attainable between the persons above named. The mutual jealousies of Halifax and Danby, and the scruples or timidity of Nottingham, must have rendered it impossible; and if the declaration alluded to be that which the Prince of Orange afterwards put forth, it could not have been drawn or sanctioned by those who would not sign the invitation which preceded it. It is true that, in 1687, the Earl of Shrewsbury went over on a secret mission to the Prince of Orange; but an agent who went introduced and recommended by so temporising and manœuvring a politician as Halifax, could hardly have proposed decisive counsels, or greatly advanced the designs of the Prince.

A conspiracy so irresolute and disunited would have failed against any other reigning prince in Europe. James II., a tyrant and a bigot, without capacity or energy, and obstinate only in his infatuation, was an easy conquest.

The inutility of the negotiations for the repeal of the tests, through Penn and D'Albyville at the Hague, and with Dyckvelt in London, failed to show James the hopelessness of all attempts to obtain the sanction of the Prince of Orange. Stuart, a Scotch adventurer in the expedition of Argyll, but pardoned, and even received into favour, through the influence of Penn, was authorised by James to address a letter to the pensionary Fagel, with a view to obtain the concurrence of the Prince. No answer was returned to his reiterated applications. This silence was construed into a consent. It was given out that the Prince had at last come into the King's measures. The effects upon the interests and designs of William were alarming. His English partisans felt depression and distrust. The advantage thus fraudulently obtained recoiled upon the King. Fagel, by the direction of the Prince, replied to Stuart in detail. The arguments on both sides have ceased to be interesting. Two sentences of the pensionary's letter may be still worth citing. After asserting, somewhat ostentatiously, the Prince's sacred regard for the principles of religious freedom, he declares that the Prince and Princess are willing to concur in the repeal of the penal laws;

“ provided always that those laws remain still in their full vigour by which the Catholics are shut out of both Houses of Parliament, and out of all public employments, ecclesiastical, civil, and military.” Here, it may be observed, the exception devoured the rule, and the pensionary forgot the exclusion of the Protestant dissenters.

It was boasted that the Prince of Orange conceded a liberal toleration, when contrasted with the persecutions of Louis XIV. If the rights of conscience entitled the French protestants to the Edict of Nantes, the English Catholics and Dissenters had assuredly the same claim to the same measure of religious liberty and civil privilege. But the toleration of the Prince of Orange, or rather of the men of 1688, fell far short of the Edict of Henry IV. James, it is true, was of the religion of the exceptive or hostile minority, whilst Louis was of that of the majority, in their respective kingdoms. This was a reason for rendering the throne of England Protestant, upon the manly principle of the Bill of Exclusion; not for disfranchising even a fraction of the people.

The pensionary, in his letter, further says, “ Their Highnesses have ever paid a most profound duty to his Majesty; which they will always continue to do, for they consider themselves bound to it both by the laws of God and of nature.” The revolution of 1688, as between James and his subjects, requires no justification; but the relations of father and children, between him and the Prince and Princess of Orange, are essentially distinct; and the obligations which in this sentence they so solemnly avow contain, perhaps, the strongest case which could be made against them by their enemies.

Fagel's letter was laid by Stuart before the King, who submitted it to a cabinet council.^a Eventually James, as before, would have all or nothing. Burnet ascribes his pertinacity to the influence of Jesuits and the French ambassador; and asserts that the lay Catholics pressed him to accept the Prince's offer, “ which would have made them both easy and safe for the future.”^b Surely James required no extrinsic influence to make him reject a concession so utterly futile, with reference to his grand object of placing Catholics in situations of trust and power. It is nearly as improbable that the lay Catholics, in this stage of the King's

^a Bur. vol. iii. p. 216. Oxf. ed.

^b Ibid. p. 217.

fortunes, would have advised him to accept it. There was, at this period, no aggregate Catholic opinion. When such opinion is mentioned, it could be understood only as proceeding from a few individuals, more or less conspicuous, in direct personal intercourse with the Court; but those Catholics who had influence over James, or access to him, were either actually enjoying or eagerly looking forward to those objects of ambition and emolument which the Court could bestow, and would scarcely have sat down contented in a state of mere animal security and civil degradation. It may have been the opinion of Lord Bellasis, in whom advanced age, great wealth, and grovelling avarice destroyed every vestige of ambition and generosity; — who refused the unfortunate King, when going away, the loan of a thousand pounds.^a

The letter of Fagel was intended for publication. The Prince ordered Bentinck to have it translated by Burnet for the purpose.^b It was accordingly circulated throughout England by order of the Prince, and it caused a powerful reaction against James. He adopted the desperate resource of proclaiming it either a fabrication, or a publication unauthorised by the Prince and Princess of Orange. It was treated as a forgery in a court pamphlet called "*Parliamentum Pacificum*." Fagel remonstrated, in a letter addressed to d'Albyville; asserted that the letter was not only authentic, but fully approved by the Prince and Princess; that all this was perfectly known to the King, to Sunderland, who licensed the pamphlet containing the falsehood, to D'Albyville himself; and completing the Prince's triumph, made the vindication of the letter as public as the letter itself.

Finding the political conversion of the Prince of Orange impracticable by negociation, James attempted the religious conversion of the Princess by a polemical correspondence.^c In justice to one of the most affectionate and unfortunate of fathers, it should be observed that he recommended his creed with candour and moderation, as well as with the earnestness of a sincere conviction. But theological disputes are never so envenomed and outrageous as when they spring only from factitious zeal and the baser passions.

Bishop Burnet declares that, upon reading the first letter of the Princess in reply to her father, "it gave him an astonishing joy to

^a Halifax MS.

^b Lettre de Guill. III. au Comte de Portland, 21st Sept. 1687. Portland MSS.

^c Bur. vol. iii. p. 196. Oxf. ed.

see so young a person *all of the sudden, without consulting any one person*, to be able to write so solid and learned a letter." This solid learning in divinity contrasts somewhat inconsistently with her ignorance in matters of state, which were materially, though doubtless not equally, requisite in the presumptive heiress to a crown.

But is it credible that the letter of the Princess, upon which much depended, and which was sure to be perused by friends and enemies in England, was neither prepared nor revised by others? The question is one rather of personal veracity than historic truth, and may be abandoned to the reader as one of the many instances in which Burnet puts his credit to a perilous trial. If the whole letter was the composition of the Princess, she must have been no mean proficient in the artifices of disputation. The most unscrupulous pamphleteer in politics or theology could not launch a falsehood with more easy confidence as a received truth. "The Church of England," said James, "does not pretend to infallibility, yet she acts as if she did; for ever since the Reformation she has persecuted those who differ from her, Dissenters as well as Papists, more than is generally known." The Princess replies, that "she does not see how the Church of England could be blamed for the persecution of the Dissenters; for the laws made against them were made by the State and not by the Church, and they were made for crimes against the State!"^a The Church, then, has had no share in the persecutions of the Protestant Dissenters; and the Dissenters have been oppressed and proscribed for political offences, not for their religious tenets! Burnet, a historian and a bishop, glides with seeming unconsciousness over these monstrous falsifications. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the King was not more fortunate in his polemics with his daughter, than in his negotiations with her husband.

There is, perhaps, but one aspect under which the correspondence any longer merits notice. It is difficult to contemplate, without a feeling of contemptuous pity, great principles and the public cause turning upon a hinge so weak and worthless as the issue of a theological dispute between a woman without information or capacity, and a poor bigot, whose perverse conscience or obstinate imbecility would have been harmless, if not respectable,

^a Burnet, vol. iii. p. 202. Oxf. ed.

at their proper level, in a cloister or in humble life. Such phenomena in the history of nations are but natural consequences where a people is not wise, civilised, or independent enough to take into its own hands the substantial administration of its own rights and interests, and all is left to be partitioned or disputed between court factions and the crown.

CHAPTER XIII.

Discussions between James and the States General.—Abuse of the Press.—Conduct of Tyrconnel.—Recall of the British Regiments from Holland.—Intrigue of Sunderland.—Pretences and Preparations of the Prince of Orange.—Second Mission of Zuylistein.—The Prince invited over.—Principles of the King and the Revolutionists.—Letters to the Prince from England.—Armament of the Prince.—Conduct of the King.—Mission of Bonrepaux.—Memorial of D'Avaux.—Enterprise of the Prince.

THE year 1688 opened with a lively feeling of its centenary associations, and an ominous presentiment of great events. Men saw, with excited imaginations, the national religion and independence exposed anew, after the lapse of a hundred years, to the terrors of popery and slavery.

D'Albyville had come over from the Hague, in the autumn of the preceding year, with the Prince's peremptory refusal to sanction the repeal of the tests.* The relations between England and Holland were most precarious. The tone of James was angry and peremptory, that of the States temperate but unyielding; and their ostensible differences turned upon no question of grave importance to the interests of either nation. The two points in dispute were, the affair of Bantam, so called,—a question of commercial interests between the Dutch East India Company and British traders to the East,—and the demand of James, that Doctor Burnet should be delivered up, “as a fugitive libeller and rebel,” to the laws of his country and the justice of his sovereign. D'Albyville, on his return to Holland, in January, 1687-8, renewed in vain his

* MS. Letter of Don Pedro Ronq., 15th Sept. 1687.

memorials on both subjects. The affair of Bantam, after several remonstrances, replies, and rejoinders, was abandoned, without satisfaction given; and the States refused to surrender Burnet, on the ground of his marriage in Holland and his naturalisation. Their refusal was just, but their reason untenable. His naturalisation abroad did not affect his allegiance and responsibility at home. The affair of Burnet is still less important than that of Bantam, though he has chosen to treat it as if his personal memoirs were identical with "The History of his own Times." Both were soon eclipsed and forgotten in an event proclaimed by the Gazette, on the 5th of January, 1688,—the pregnancy of James's queen.

It was the fortune of James II. that circumstances of the most auspicious promise proved the most disastrous to him. The death of Monmouth was supposed to consolidate his tyranny. In effect, it only took off the weaker of two rival aspirants for his throne, and ranged all his adversaries under a single leader, who was one of the first generals, and pre-eminently the first politician of Europe, in his time. The Queen's pregnancy, by multiplying the chances of a Catholic successor, precipitated the invasion. It was not, however, the first circumstance which hastened or decided the views of William upon England. The inclination of James, and the secret negotiation between Louis XIV. and Tyrconnell, to deprive the Princess of Orange of the succession to the crown of Ireland, were known to the Prince, and caused him the greatest uneasiness.* But the one subject of alarm was removed by the other. James, upon the contingency of a Catholic successor, must have been as much inclined to perpetuate as he had before been to sever the connexion with Ireland.

The Queen's pregnancy was made the subject of satirical pleasantries and ribald jests. "The stories," says Ralph, "were neither over decent, well bred, nor charitable. A pillow, a dropsy, a tympany, a cushion, the Queen's maladies, the King's crazy constitution, were the favourite topics of the wit and humour of the day. Nor were they confined to conversation only: they found their way to the press; they were set forth in verse and prose, and circulated

* "J'ai su par le Marquis d'Albyville que la plus grande inquiétude du Prince d'Orange est que l'Irlande ne se mette en état, avant la mort du Roi d'Angleterre, de se soustraire à sa domination lorsque il viendra à la couronne. Je sais bien certainement que l'inclination du Roi d'Angleterre est de faire perdre ce royaume à son successeur." Bonrepaux à Seignelai, 4 Sept. 1687. Fox MSS.

from hand to hand to every corner of the kingdom." It would appear that pasquinades on the subject were fixed to dead walls during the night, and that a placard, announcing "a day of thanksgiving to God for the Queen's being great with a cushion," was found in the morning upon one of the pillars of a church.^a Lam-poons and libels on the subject were published in Holland. Partridge's predictions, printed at the Hague, were made a vehicle for charging the King with a project to defraud his daughters of the succession, by imposing a supposititious heir.^b The severe enforcement of the act of the 14th of Charles II., revived by the last parliament against all circulators of unlicensed, seditious, and treasonable publications, together with such further punishments as might be inflicted by the utmost rigour of the law and the *prerogative royal* on such offenders for their contempt, was commanded by proclamation.^c

Had the King confined himself to the statute, and left out of sight the tyrant and the prerogative, he might pass unblamed. The execution of the law would be regarded even with satisfaction, as one of those signal instances of retributive justice which men call providential. No sovereign could tolerate scurrilities openly bastardising his expected issue, with the aggravation of imputing to him the guilt of imposing upon the nation a spurious heir to the crown; and the party now brought under the edge of an inhuman act of parliament were both its authors and revivers. The sentiment of justice in the moral order is never more lively and unequivocal than when oppressors become in their turn the victims of their own arts.

Tyrconnell, it has been observed, intended to overthrow the Act of Settlement in Ireland; in other words, to compel the Protestants to disgorge the confiscated estates of the Catholics. This measure has been uniformly charged by historians upon his impetuous bigotry and want of understanding. It should be judged as the means to an end, and with a double reference to its justice and its policy. The Catholics were despoiled by foreign conquest and superior force. An act of parliament of Charles, to which they were not parties, affirmed but could not consecrate spoliation. There was not that lapse of time which gives to original and remote iniquity the

^a Lettier to Père la Chaise.

^b "There is some project on foot, either about buying, or selling, or procuring, a child or children, for some uses. Some child is to be topped on the lawful heirs, to cheat them out of their right and estate."

^c Gazette, 12th February, 1687-8.

colour of right by prescription. The new possessors had not, like the purchasers of national property in France at the Revolution, paid a consideration to the state. There was then no violation of equity in compelling the restitution; and the only question remaining is its expediency. The end which Tyrconnell proposed to himself was the erection of Ireland into an independent Catholic state under the protection of France. Was the overthrow of the settlement in Ireland by a man who had this end in view the counsel of a rash bigot, or of one who pursued a daring project by daring means and with suitable resolution? By the answer Tyrconnell should be judged.

It was not the only measure recommended by him with reference to the same design. There were six regiments of British subjects in the pay and service of the States of Holland. He advised that these troops should be recalled, and that a regiment composed of such of them as were Catholics, officers and men, should be kept up in the pay of Louis XIV. in France.^a The proposition was made through Barillon to Louis by Sunderland and by James himself. Among the inducements held out to him was, that the regiment thus maintained would be a nursery for Catholic soldiers, untainted by those maxims dangerous to royalty which were so prevalent in England, and from which the Catholics themselves were not wholly free.^b It has been the constant endeavour of the enemies of liberty and toleration—churchmen, Tories, and Whigs,—to render James odious only as a Papist, and sink his misdeeds as a tyrant. The motives are too obvious to be pointed out; but the foregoing, among many passages in his life, would bear out the opinion, that he encouraged popery, not as his primary object, but as an accessory to despotic power.

Louis declined receiving into France the British troops which should be recalled from Holland, but offered to maintain 2000 men in England.^c He undertook at the same time to assist James with French troops far exceeding that force,^d for the purpose of putting

^a Bar. au Roi, Oct. 16. 1687. Dal. App.

^b "Que ce seroit une pépinière pour élever et former des soldats Catholiques qui ne seront pas infectés des maximes dangereuses pour la royauté répandues par toute l'Angleterre, et dont les Catholiques eux-mêmes ne sont pas exempts." Bar. to the King, 13 Oct. 1687. Fox MSS.

^c Bar. au Roi, 6 Nov. 1687. Dall. App.

^d "Je dis à ce prince que j'avais des ordres bien précis de l'assurer, que quand il auroit besoin des troupes de Votre Majesté il en passeroit un plus grand nombre que n'auroit été le corps de ses sujets qui y auroit été entretenu." Bar. au Roi, 8 Dec. 1687. Fox MSS.

down his enemies, and making himself obeyed by his subjects.^a James accepted the former offer with the joy of a tyrant and the gratitude of a slave.^b The next question was the recall of the troops, or rather the consent of the States to their return.

On the 17th of January, 1688, the King addressed a letter to the Prince of Orange, setting forth, "that he thought it for his service to call home the six regiments of his subjects under the Prince's command in the States' service;" that he had written to the States to the same purpose, and that "he hoped the Prince would do his part in having them embarked as soon as may be."^c Nothing, according to Burnet, could have fallen out more opportunely for the Prince. It extricated him from a difficulty which he knew not how to surmount. Three of those regiments, containing many Catholics, had been sent over to be employed against Monmouth and Argyll, and were so well treated, that the officers, especially, continued devoted to James after their return to Holland. "This," says the Bishop, "was very uneasy to the Prince, who began to see that he might have occasion to make use of those bodies if things should be carried to a rupture between the King and him, and yet he did not see how he could trust them whilst such officers were in command." There is something worth observing in the gentle ambiguity of the phrase,—“if things should be carried to a rupture,”—under which the Bishop cloaks the Prince's designs upon the King's crown. The Prince and the States, however, long and strenuously resisted the King's claim to recall the troops, and at last rather evaded than complied with it. After an angry discussion between D'Albyville and the States, in which the former asserted the inalienable rights of a sovereign over his subjects, the latter insisted on express treaty, and their having levied and paid those troops,^d together with a correspondence, in which James conveys his dissatisfaction to the Prince of Orange, the officers only received the States' permission to return, the Prince of Orange was relieved from uneasiness, and James was obliged to content himself with this deceitful compliance, dictated, he well knew, by the Prince.^e

Lord Sunderland, in the mean time, had signalised this trans-

^a "Pour opprimer ses ennemis et se faire obéir de ses sujets." Bar. au Roi. Ibid.

^b King James to the Prince of Orange. Dal. App.

^c Corres. of Van. Citt.

^d James to the Prince of Orange, 13th March, 1688. Dal. App. Letter of Van Cittera, 16th March, 1688.

action and himself by one of his most paltry intrigues. The recall of the troops was concerted with Louis XIV. in the autumn of 1687, under the auspices of Sunderland, but the resolution was not immediately acted upon. Louis, probably suspecting that this delay, like the renewal of the treaty with the States in 1685, was an artifice resorted to by James, in order to obtain more money, instructed Barillon to manifest no impatience, but to penetrate the cause, and keep a watchful eye upon Sunderland. Skelton, now ambassador at Paris, and suspicious, it has been observed, long before he had left the Hague, of a secret understanding between Sunderland and the Prince, suggested the probability of treachery on the part of that cameleon politician. Barillon informed his master, that he could discover no grounds for the suspicion of Skelton; that he was satisfied with the assurance of Sunderland, who told him the delay arose from the reluctance of the chief Catholics to provoke any dispute with Holland, until after the expected meeting of parliament; that he well knew the opinion of the Catholic lords, Powis and Arundel, to be, that the recall of the troops would impede the repeal by parliament of the penal and Test Acts; that he held back for some days, upon which Lord Sunderland spoke to him more plainly,—in short, that Lord Sunderland offered to remove every obstacle, and hasten the recall of the troops, upon the condition of “an extraordinary gratification,” that is, a bribe, in addition to his regular pension, for the peril which he incurred in thus compromising himself with the Prince of Orange.* Among the inducements held out to Barillon by Sunderland, was the mean one, that he would employ his influence to keep down the demands of his master upon the purse of Louis. Ingenuously avowing how little his own honour could be relied on, he declares, that he asks no payment until the troops shall have arrived. Nothing seems wanting to complete his baseness but the discovery of his intriguing at the same time, on the same subject, through his wife and Sidney, with

* Qu'il savait bien qu'on le regardait comme l'auteur de cette résolution, et que ceux qui ne l'approuvent pas trouveront aisément les moyens de s'en disculper auprès de Monsieur le Prince d'Orange, et de remettre tout sur lui; qu'il voulait bien en courir les hazards, mais qu'il croyait en même temps devoir être assuré d'une protection pleine et entière de la part de votre Majesté, qu'ainsi il me dirait franchement que le péril auquel il s'expose l'oblige à prendre quelque précaution, et à demander que votre Majesté entre en considération de ses services, et lui donne des nouvelles marques de sa bienveillance, en lui accordant une gratification, et en lui continuant sa pension ordinaire, qu'il ne demandait rien de cette gratification qu'auprès que les troupes d'Hollande seraient arrivées ici." Bar. au Roi, 5 Jan. 1688. Dal. App.

the Prince of Orange. There is no direct evidence of this extant, and Bishop Burnet declares, that William disclaimed to him all correspondence with Sunderland. But it would be too much to suppose, that the most reserved of politicians kept no secret from a subaltern in his service, who had in his opinion neither good sense nor good principles,^a and whose vanity and egotism would alone imply the want of discretion.

Barillon, a veteran in court corruption and intrigue, was astonished at the effrontery of Sunderland's proposal.^b He, however, transmitted it, with his recommendation to Louis, who consented to give a bribe, short of the expectations of the English minister. Barillon had some difficulty in bringing him to agree to the reduced terms. He succeeded, by giving him to understand there might arise other conjunctures still more important and favourable, in which the use of his influence over James would obtain him further gratifications from Louis.^c In point of fact, he earned further gratifications by the same prostitution of his office and his honour.^d

Sunderland, his object thus attained, easily put an end to delays which had been secretly encouraged or created by himself. About forty officers asked and obtained leave to return,^e and a considerable number of the men, Catholics it may be presumed, made their escape to England.^f These and other Catholics were formed into three regiments, and maintained in England at the cost of Louis XIV.^g

Hitherto, the assumption of a power to suspend or dispense with laws, was the main grievance specifically urged against the King, and the sheet-anchor of the designs of the Prince. To these were now added the imprisonment of the Bishops, and the imposition upon the nation of a spurious heir to the crown. James II. is sufficiently odious, and his deposition from the throne sufficiently warranted, without injustice or aggravation. It may be right here to pause for a moment upon these three chief heads of accusation. James affected to be above the law, and was therefore a tyrant. He did not, however, assume the right of suspending or dispensing with all laws, as according to the popular notion

^a Halifax MS.

^b Je répondis peu à ce discours parceque j'étais fort surpris de la proposition qui m'était faite. Bar. au Roi, ubi supra.

^c Id. 26th Jan. 1688. Ibid.

^d Dal. App. p. 280.

^e Burn. vol. iii. p. 221. Oxf. ed.

^f Dal. App.

^g Bar. au Roi, 26 July, 1688. Dal. App.

he is supposed to have done, but only those penal enactments which interfered with his prerogative of commanding the services of all and any of his subjects. His lawyers told him this was a prerogative inseparable from his person which no statute could limit or invade. The same prerogative had been claimed by Charles II., vindicated by Shaftesbury, and withdrawn from operation rather than renounced. James, then, did not assert it without precedent, or without law authority. He did not assert it without appeal. He submitted the question to the competent jurisdiction, and eleven of the twelve judges decided in his favour.* Such a prerogative, it is true, was equivalent thus far to arbitrary power; but this admission would only prove, that arbitrary power had countenance from the law of England. The judges, it will be said, misinterpreted the law from fear or favour, and were appointed for the purpose. But discarding, as a delusive phrase, the maxim, that the King can do no wrong, and holding James responsible of right, as he was held in fact, still he was not the sole criminal, but the accomplice, and in some measure the victim of corrupt or craven judges, and of an anomalous system of jurisprudence, which allows judges to make law under the name of expounding it. In fine, of the eleven judges who decided the case of Hales, four only were named by the King.

To come to the case of the Bishops,—they refused compliance with an order of their king, whilst they professed passive obedience to him, as a tenet of their church, and after having in precisely the same matter obeyed the royal mandate implicitly in the late reign. They presented a petition to the King, desiring to be excused. They considered their petition legal and dutiful, as most assuredly it was. The King considered it a seditious libel, committed them in default of bail, upon their refusal to enter even into their own recognisances; submitted the question to trial by a jury of their common country, and had a verdict against him. His proceedings, then, against the Bishops, however vexatious and oppressive, were not illegal, and therefore not tyrannical. The surest test will be to suppose James, for a moment, a true son, not of the Church of Rome, but of the Church of England, and the objects of his prosecution, not Protestant bishops, but Dissenters or Papists;—would not his conduct be very differently viewed, though the

* Case of Sir Edward Hales,—a collusive proceeding, but not an illegal or unprecedented mode of trying a right.

question of its legality would remain the same? The charge respecting a supposititious heir was one of the most flagrant wrongs ever done to a sovereign or a father. The son of James II. was, perhaps, the only prince in Europe of whose blood there could be no rational doubt, considering the verification of his birth, the unimpeached life of his mother, and the general morality of courts and queens.

The imprisonment of the Bishops, and imposition of a spurious heir, were put forward as the grievances which immediately provoked and justified the expedition of the Prince of Orange.^a But these incidents were merely seized on as favourable pretences. The Prince had resolved upon it long before, waited only for a favourable conjuncture, and was already making his arrangements in concert with the States of Holland, his allies abroad, and his friends in England.

Admiral Russel went over to the Hague early in 1688, as the organ of the chief projectors of the approaching revolution. His instructions were to lay before the Prince the actual state of the country, and ascertain what might be expected from him. He described the state of England with fairness and sagacity. "All people," he said, "were at gaze; those who had little or no religion had no mind to turn Papists, if they could see any probable way of resisting the fury with which the court was now driving;—men of fortune, if they saw no visible prospect, would be governed by their present interest;—they were for the present united; but if a breaking should once happen, and some men of figure should be prevailed on to change, that might go far;—a corrupt and dissolute army was rather encouraged to the commission of outrages upon the people than punished for them, in order that, becoming odious to the nation, it should become devoted to the court; but the soldiers after all, though bad Englishmen and worse Christians, were yet such good Protestants that they could not be much trusted by James." This is in substance Burnet's version of Russel's report to the Prince.^b

"The Prince," continues the historian of his own times, "answered, that if he was invited by some men of the best interest and the most valued in the nation, who should, both in their own name and in the name of others who trusted them, invite him to

^a Bur. vol. iii. pp. 239, 240. Oxf. ed. Declaration of the Prince of Orange.

^b Idem, p. 241. Oxf. ed.

come over and rescue the nation and the religion, he believed he could be ready by the end of September to come over."

So dexterously and ably had the Prince of Orange conducted his design, that he thus appeared to confer the highest favour as the nation's deliverer, whilst he but realised the dream of his own ambition.

War between the confederates of Augsburg and the King of France was impending at this time. The menacing attitude and preparations on both sides were the common theme of Europe. The Prince, then, to be in a condition to pledge himself to the descent upon England in September, or to pledge himself at all, must, by resistless implication, have had previously come to an understanding upon it with the States of Holland and the other powers leagued against France. The period of Russel's mission is fixed by Burnet indirectly. "The main confidence," says he, "*we* (that is, Burnet and the Prince) had was in the electoral Prince of Brandenburg, *for the old elector was then dying*; and I told Russel at *parting*, that unless he died, there would be great difficulties not easily mastered in the design of the Prince's expedition to England." The old elector died in the last day of April, and Russel left the Hague before that event. The conspiracy, therefore, to dethrone James, was proceeding both in England and Holland, before the second declaration of indulgence was issued, or the prosecution of the Bishops thought of; that is, before either of the two measures of the King, which the Prince of Orange and his partisans put forth as having provoked and warranted his invasion.^b But it would be mere waste of proof and time to fix the designs of the Prince at a much earlier date than he professed. At the same time it would be uncandid, if not absurd, to exact from him a morality incompatible with the universal practice of states and governments.

The principal persons who deputed Russel to the Prince of

* "As the people," says Ralph, "had reason to complain, he (the Prince) took upon him to redress, and so acquired the glorious name of deliverer, while the part he really played was that of a consummate politician. If this is not panegyric it is truth: princes are governed by their interests and passions as well as private men; and those who have been most idolised by the modern world have, in their most splendid actions, proceeded on motives very different from that love of virtue and glory which animated the heroes of antiquity." *Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 997.

^b The declaration was dated April 27; the order in council, commanding that it should be read in churches, was dated May 4; and the Bishops were sent to the Tower, June 8.

Orange were those who, with Russet himself, afterwards signed the memorable invitation, and had already, in the preceding year, corresponded and practised secretly with the Prince, through Dykvelt and Zuylistein. They will shortly be found more conspicuous actors in the drama of the Revolution.

Whilst Russet was employed in Holland, Sidney was the chief agent of the Prince of Orange in England. The required invitation was not sent to the Prince as quickly as he had reason to expect it. A letter, dated the 18th of June, without signature, in a female or feigned hand,* prepared him for its arrival in a few days. "I believe," says the writer, "you expected it before, but it could not be ready. This is only in the name of your principal friends, which are *Nottingham*, *Shrewsbury*,

Danby, Bishop of London, *Sidney*, to desire you to defer making

your compliment till you have the letter I mention. What they are likely to advise in the next you may easily guess, and prepare yourself accordingly. *Halifax* hath been backward in all this

matter: *Devonshire* hath been with me, and I find will be entirely

your friend." This letter, it may be presumed, was from Sidney. If written by Count Zuylistein, who was then in England, it would have been in French.

The second mission of Zuylistein merits a distinct and particular notice. He was sent over by the Prince and Princess of Orange with their congratulations to James and his Queen, on the birth of their son, at the very moment when the Prince, and, so far as she was competent or allowed, the Princess, were preparing to dethrone the parents and bastardise the child. There is in all this something revolting at first sight, considering the relations of blood and marriage between the respective parties. But it should be remembered in extenuation, that James was trampling at the time on the liberties and sentiments of a free people; that the Prince of Orange had a contingent interest in the succession to the crown, not merely in right of his wife, but in his own person; and that the ties of nature are made only for the people.

Deception, however, even when pardonable, rarely or never

* Published in Dal. App., from King William's cabinet.

produces unmixed good. The mission of Zuylistein, and the fact of the Prince of Wales being prayed for in the chapel of the Princess of Orange, whilst they contributed to James's security, offended and alarmed the high Protestant party in England. This formal recognition of the legitimacy of the child amounted to a renunciation by the Prince of Orange of his wife's rights as presumptive heiress. Burnet accounts for these acknowledgments of the Prince of Wales, by saying, "the first letters gave not those grounds of suspicion that were sent to them afterwards." This flimsy pretence is exposed by the Bishop himself, in his next page :—"It was," says he, "taken ill in England that the Princess should have begun so early to pray for the pretended Prince, upon which the naming him discontinued. But this was so highly resented by the Court of England, that the Prince, fearing it might precipitate a rupture, ordered him to be again named in the prayers."^a James wrote to his daughter, demanding the reason. She assured him, in answer, that the omission proceeded only from forgetfulness, and not from her orders. The King was not deceived by this shallow pretence : he, however, imputed blame only to her husband.^b

There is nothing inconsistent in William's ordering the Prince of Wales, real or pretended, to be named or not named "in the prayers," as best suited his designs ; but it is strange that a learned and pious Bishop, and a Princess, less learned, but not less orthodox and sincere, should have seen no offence to the church tenet of the efficacy of prayer in treating the practice as a mere court ceremony, and no scandal to the Church liturgy in making it the instrument of a court intrigue.^c

The Prince of Orange now (June, 1688) applied his whole mind to his intended expedition. Zuylistein, according to Burnet, had now "brought him such positive advices, and such an assurance of the invitation he had desired, that he was fully fixed in his purpose." This is another instance of the Bishop's negligence or imperfect information. The invitation reached the Prince a month before the return of Zuylistein. It is dated the 30th of June, and appears to have been immediately forwarded by Sidney with a letter of the same date. Zuylistein did not leave England.

^a Bur. vol. iii. p. 200. Oxf. ed.

^b D'Adda, 30th July, 1688.

^c MS. Mem. of King James, cited in Life, etc., vol. ii. p. 161.

till the beginning of August, when Sidney accompanied him to the Hague.

The memorable invitation to the Prince of Orange bore but seven signatures,—those of Lords Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Danby, and Lumley; Compton, Bishop of London, Admiral Russel, and Colonel Sidney, men who deserved well of their country, but who wanted grandeur of achievement and stature of mind to figure as personages truly historic, and whose names have failed to become classic among the destroyers of tyrants or liberators of nations. It is a remarkable fact that not one great principle or generous inspiration escapes them in that document. Their invitation is a cold, creeping, irresolute address.* Sidney, in his letter of the same date, enclosing or accompanying it, speaks doubtfully of the issue, and even of the Prince's accepting the invitation: — “*If*,” says he, “you go on with this undertaking, I think I shall not do amiss to put you in mind of one man that I believe will be very useful to you; it is the Marshall Schomberg. If you could borrow him awhile, it would be of great advantage to this affair.” So far was he from that resolved and reckless daring which stakes life upon success, and thus tends mainly to produce it, that he requests the Prince to burn his letter, and have the invitation (also in his handwriting) copied, “or else,” he adds, “I may suffer for it seven years hence.” The man who, conspiring against a tyrant, guarded with so much foresight against contingencies of personal danger so remote, was unfit for his mission. “You will,” he concludes, “wonder, I believe, not to see the number ²³ among

Nottingham

the other figures (signatures): he was gone very far, but now his heart fails him, and he will go no further. He saith, ’tis scruples of conscience, but we all think ’tis another passion.”

Viewing the revolution of 1688 at this distance of time, and with the lights of the present day, it is impossible to deny James a certain superiority in the comparison of abstract principles. His standard bore the nobler inscription. He proclaimed religious liberty impartial and complete, and had he not sought to establish it by his own lawless will,—had his proceedings been but worthy of his cause,—posterity might regard him not as a tyrant justly uncrowned, but as a beneficent prince who became the victim of an

* It will be found in the Appendix.

intolerant faction, an overweening hierarchy, and a besotted multitude.

James, it will be said, only wore the mask of liberality in order to destroy protestantism and enthrone popery in its ancient and exclusive domination. To suppose him sincere in all that he professed would be credulity, not charity or candour. He doubtless had at heart the establishment of the Catholic religion, with that of absolute power. But did he, directly in the teeth of his reiterated professions, from his address when Duke of York to the magistrates of Amsterdam in 1679, to the second declaration of indulgence in 1688, contemplate the extirpation of protestantism by fraud and force? A sincere and sanguine religionist, may he not have been under the delusion, that what he believed to be truth, above all, sacred truth, must triumph over error by argument and persuasion, if but allowed to take the field on equal terms. The philosophic observer, weighing the influence of passion, prejudice, and a social system, vicious to the core, would have less confidence. His calculations would, perhaps, incline the other way. But James was no philosopher. The question is one which each student of human nature and of James's reign and character will decide for himself.

Let it, however, be assumed for a moment, and for the argument, that James II. cherished in secret the treacherous after-thought of proscribing protestantism and re-establishing popery; still religious liberty was not the less beneficent and sacred because it came from him. The Christian dispensation was not less divine because it came from Galilee. It is strange that at the threshold of the eighteenth century, not one of the whigs of the Revolution, those boasted champions of freedom and protestantism, appears to have been on a level with the true principle of either. As moralists and politicians they should have known, that the motive could not vitiate the right or materially change its operation; that liberty is a weapon, which, employed for his purposes by a tyrant, would recoil upon himself; that it was a solecism to suppose the unchaining of religious conscience a way to establish religious slavery. As Englishmen they should have remembered, that if popery was in possession of the throne, protestantism had on its side the great mass of the nation, and was therefore unconquerable. But the real secret, if it be any longer a secret, is, that the whigs of 1688 had no notion of freedom beyond their sect or party; that with

liberty on their lips, monopoly and persecution were in their hearts. One man only appears to have been sufficiently in advance of the whigs and of his generation, to reach just views of religious liberty. It was William Penn. "Penn," says Bishop Burnet, "and the tools employed by him, had still some hopes of carrying a parliament to agree with the King;" in other words, Penn had still hopes of establishing liberty of conscience on the basis of the constitution. The Prince of Orange may be coupled with the illustrious quaker, and the association does him honour. William was on a level with the principle of religious freedom, but was restrained by ambition from espousing it before, and by a bigoted parliament from establishing it after he became king.

Lord Halifax, it has been observed, was "backward," and Lord Nottingham's "heart failed him." The secret of the expedition was not communicated to the former; it was confided to the latter. An accomplice in conspiracy who proves recreant, is the most dangerous of all enemies;—such was the situation of Nottingham. The fortunes of William and James, and the lives of those who signed the invitation, were in his hands. It was proposed in conclave, by one of the seven subscribers of the invitation, to secure his silence by assassinating him.^a The proposition was rejected, on the ground that the same want of nerve which prevented Nottingham's joining would also prevent his disclosing the secret of the enterprise.

Zuylistein returned to the Hague, accompanied by Sidney, in the beginning of August. He was charged with several letters, containing offers of service to the Prince from his friends in England.^b There is, in the tone of these letters, something too like that of vassals transferring their service from one absolute lord of their lives and fortunes to another. Religion is often mentioned; liberty and country rarely or never. Burnet and Kennet, in their respective histories, name several persons of distinction and influence, who pledged themselves to join William on his landing. But the only sure authority in print is the conclusive one, so far as it goes, to be found in Dalrymple's appendix.^c

Admiral Herbert, writing on the 24th of May, in answer to an invitation from the Prince, conveyed through Russel, begins his

^a Note of Lord Dartmouth in Bur. v. iii. p. 279.—and Halifax MS.

^b Dal. App. p. 22. et seq.

^c Letters addressed to the Prince of Orange. Dal. App. part ii.

letter,—“It is from your Highness’s great generosity that I must hope for pardon, for presuming to write in so unpolished a style, which will not furnish me with words suitable to the sense I have of your Highness’s goodness to me in the midst of my misfortunes.” He concludes with the words,—“I have a life entirely at your devotion, and shall think every hour of it lost that is not employed in your Highness’s service.” The misfortunes of this patriot consisted in his being dismissed from places at court, which he held at the King’s pleasure, upon his refusal to support the King’s government. There are two letters from the brothers Clarendon and Rochester, uncles of the Princess of Orange: the former apprehends the possibility of his not being in favour with the Prince; the latter laments having incurred the Prince’s displeasure. Halifax, so late as the 25th of July, suggests to the Prince slow counsels, in a spirit of vain ingenuity and irrelevant dissertation, curious only from his unsuspecting ignorance of the progress already made towards the expedition both in England and Holland. Nottingham writes by Zuylistein to the Prince, on the 27th of July, nearly a month after the signature of the invitation, in which he had refused to join. His letter is short, but not unimportant; and tends to show, that his retreat was the effect rather of his principles than his fears. “The birth of a Prince of Wales,” says he, “and the designs of a further prosecution of the bishops, and of new-modelling the army, and calling of a parliament, are matters that afford various reflections. But I cannot apprehend from them such ill consequences to our religion, or the just interests of your Highness, that a little time will not effectually remedy.” From this sentence, and more especially from the significant limitation of the Prince’s interests conveyed in the epithet “just,” it may be conjectured, that Nottingham withdrew from the association, when he perceived that it threatened the possession of the crown by James, and the succession to it by his infant son.

The Bishop of London writing by Zuylistein, merely says, that he had communicated to the imprisoned bishops the expression of the Prince’s concern; and assures the Prince on their part, of their being “so well satisfied of their cause, that they will lay down their lives before they will in the least depart from it.” This letter differs in its general tone from that which he had written by Dyckvelt, only in his no longer making a reservation of his

allegiance where he devotes himself to the service of the Prince of Orange.

Lord Churchill's letter of the 4th of August to the Prince is well known. Dalrymple, with a curious obliquity of perception, calls it "spirited;" and others have as curiously cited it in his favour. "Mr. Sidney," he writes, "will let you know how I intend to behave myself. I think it is what I owe to God and my country: my honour I take leave to put into your Royal Highness's hands, in which I think it safe. If you think there is any thing else that I ought to do, you have but to command me." This letter, without any other testimony, would prove, that he was in the confidence of the projected invasion. No zeal, pretended or real, for God or his country, can cover the infamy of continuing to command the troops, betray the confidence, and abuse the kindness of King James, for several months after he had deposited his obedience, and what he called his honour, with James's enemy.

The part acted by Sunderland at this crisis, is an historical enigma, of which there is no clear solution. His unprincipled versatility, and incessantly shifting intrigues, negative any systematic or steady purpose, beyond that of keeping his place and supplying his prodigalities. Bishop Burnet asserts, it has been already observed, that "the Prince did say very positively he was in no sort of correspondence with Sunderland;" and "his (Sunderland's) counsels then lay another way." But there is in Dalrymple's Appendix, what that writer calls "a cant letter to the Prince, apparently in Russel's hand," which contains the following passage: — "Since I came to England, Mr. Roberts is grown so warm, that I can hardly prevail on him to stay for his being turned out. He is now resolved not to talk of the test and penal laws, nor indeed any thing they would have him do. I believe he is at this time so ill at court that his reign there will hardly last a month. He has desired me to assure your Highness of his utmost service. When M. Dyckvelt went away, he writ to you, but you were pleased never to take any notice of it: if you think it convenient, a letter to him of your good opinion relating to himself would not be amiss, but I submit to your better judgment." Many circumstances, such as his reign at court, its precariousness, the letter to the Prince by Dyckvelt,* tend to identify Sunderland with "Mr. Roberts." It would thus appear,

* In Dal. App. It contained only a few words of mere compliment.

that he was prostrating himself at the feet of the Prince of Orange, while "his counsels looked another way;" that is, while he was endeavouring to bring James to more moderate measures through the influence of the Queen.

Two other military officers, of high rank in the army, engaged themselves, like Lord Churchill, to the Prince of Orange. These were, Kirk, noted for his atrocities as the military colleague of Jeffreys in their joint campaign in the West, and Trelawney, who brought his brother, the Bishop of Bristol, over to the same side. Lord Mordaunt, better known as Earl of Peterborough, could hardly have failed to be engaged in an enterprise which he was the first to propose, and undertook to bring the city of London to support the Prince.^a Lords Macclesfield and Wharton joined the Prince of Orange at the Hague; the one from Germany, the other from England. Lords Winchester, Danby, and Halifax are stated to have sent, the first his two sons, the two latter their respective heirs, to the Hague, as hostages for their joining the Prince of Orange.^b But the son of Lord Halifax could not be a hostage for his father, who was not himself engaged in the enterprise.^c The two sons of the Marquis of Winchester,^d and the son of Lord Danby, went over to the Hague in the beginning of April,^e before either the Prince of Orange or his friends in England were yet pledged to the undertaking. The Duke of Norfolk, Lords Dorset, Delamere, and Willoughby, Sir Rowland Gwyn, and Mr. Powle, are also named among those who undertook to join the Prince.^f The secret of his expedition is said to have been known and kept by more than two hundred persons in Holland and England.^g

It is wonderful that men adopting the perilous resource of inviting a foreign prince for the preservation of their liberties made no previous stipulations with him. Their confidence in the Prince of Orange cannot excuse their placing themselves and their country completely at his discretion. If he abstained from abusing his conquest, and accepted fetters when he might have imposed them, it is to be ascribed only to his moderation or his policy. The invitation implicitly supplicates him to come over with an armed force, and points out the advantages of the con-

^a Kennet.

^b Letters of Halifax to the P. of Orange.

^c Dal. App. p. 216.

^d Echard.

^e Kennet.

^f Dal. App. Reresby. Mem.

^g Ibid. p. 217, etc.

^h Velt. Siècle de Louis XIV.

junction. Those who signed it seem to have thought that they were receiving all and giving nothing. There are to be found, it is true, among the political tracts of that day, two pieces: one professing to be "A Memorial of the Protestants of the Church of England to the Prince and Princess of Orange;" the other, "A Memorial of the English Protestants to the Prince and Princess of Orange, concerning their Grievances and the birth of the pretended Prince of Wales." The former, after setting forth very briefly the grievances to be redressed, recapitulates them as follows:—"They most humbly implore the protection of your Royal Highnesses, as to the suspending of, and the encroachments made upon, the laws made for the maintenance of the Protestant religion, and our civil and fundamental privileges; and that your Royal Highnesses would be pleased to insist that the free Parliament of England, according to law, may be restored; the laws against Papists, priests, papal jurisdiction, etc., may be put in execution; the suspending and dispensing power declared null and void; the rights and privileges of the city of London; the free choice of their magistrates, and the liberties of that as well as of other corporations restored; and all things returned to their ancient channel."

The second memorial is a voluminous pleading, in which irrelevant charges and slanderous misrepresentations against James II. are piled up with the undiscerning zeal and dishonest arts of vulgar advocacy and religious hatred. The imposition of a spurious heir, untouched in the former piece, is treated elaborately in the latter. But both memorials are unsigned, undated; and, it should be observed, as most material, unnoticed by those to whom they are addressed. It may be said that the Prince's Declaration, issued from the Hague on the eve of his expedition, pledged him specifically and in detail to maintain the laws and liberties of the nation. But it was not issued in pursuance of any mutual compact. It was, in fact, but one of those politic manifestoes which are issued by all invaders, to mask, not disclose, their purposes; and the Prince's Dutch confidants, not his English friends, had the greater share in preparing it. If in this instance the promises held forth were somewhat better kept, the merit belongs to the Prince of Orange.

The state of continental affairs favoured his designs. From the commencement of the year, war was momentarily expected. The

confederates of Augsburg waited only the conclusion of peace between the Turka and the Emperor to attack Louis XIV., who, on his side, wanted but a plausible pretence to anticipate them.^a Nothing is too frivolous a cause of war between nations, when their sovereigns are to be gratified in some passion or caprice. Two pretexts soon offered themselves to Louis. The Elector Palatine having died, Louis claimed for the Duchess of Orleans, sister of the deceased, the allodial succession to a portion of the Palatinate. The actual Elector contended that, by the laws and usages of the empire, the feudal heir was entitled to the whole inheritance. The Princess Palatine had, moreover, renounced her rights by her marriage contract.^b But Louis sought a pretence for hostilities, not justice for his brother's wife. The second pretence was less frivolous, but equally unjust. Louis XIV. thought it for the interests of his policy and ambition to have one of his creatures made Elector of Cologne. The person upon whom he fixed his choice was the Cardinal Prince Furstenberg, already a sufferer by his protection, but only the more devoted to him, and a deadly foe to the Emperor, who had imprisoned him in the last war, as a recreant German in the pay of France.^c The chapter had, by the constitution of the Germanic body, the right to choose the bishop, who thereby became Elector of Cologne. Ferdinand of Bavaria, the actual Prince-Bishop, was on his death-bed. The power, intrigues, and gold of Louis XIV. brought the chapter to elect Cardinal Furstenburg as coadjutor during the life, and bishop upon the death, of Prince Ferdinand. A difficulty still remained: the election was not complete without the investiture and confirmation of the new Elector by the Pope and the Emperor, both enemies of the Cardinal and of Louis. Leopold and Innocent, as unscrupulous as Louis, and, like him, actuated by the interests of their policy, alleged certain irregularities in the election of Furstenberg, and set up in opposition to him Prince Clement of Bavaria, brother of the late bishop.

The merits of this dispute and the dispute itself are here immaterial, excepting only as they threatened an European war, and thus afforded the Prince of Orange a cover for his preparations to invade England. His first step was to reconcile, by his personal mediation, differences which had grown up between North and

^a Œuv. de Louis XIV. vol. iv. 247, 248.

^b Volt. Siècle de Louis XIV.

^c Ibid.

South Holland, respecting imposts upon the conveyance of goods from one province to another. The new Elector of Brandenburg was his chief auxiliary in his intended enterprise. He reconciled the differences which had arisen between that prince and the Dutch East India Company. Upon the death of the old Elector, Bentinck was despatched to congratulate the successor, and concert measures with him. This prince was already pledged to aid the designs of the Prince of Orange; and now offered more than was asked by Bentinck.^a The Elector of Saxony at the same time arrived at the Hague, and was engaged in the interests and measures of the Prince.

The possession of Cologne by the French would open to them the way to Holland. This dangerous contiguity, and some depredations committed upon Dutch commerce by the corsairs of Algiers, were made pretences for increasing to a war scale the military and naval forces of the republic. "Thus," says Burnet, "things went on in July and August, with so much secrecy and so little suspicion, that neither the Court of England nor the Court of France seemed to be alarmed at them."

This assertion of security at Paris and London is wholly unfounded. Louis XIV. suspected from the beginning of the year the real objects of the Dutch armament. James himself, so early as the 13th of May, declared his conviction that the naval preparations in Holland were designed against England;^b but deluded by Lord Sunderland,^c or the sharer and victim of that minister's manœuvring self-delusions, his judgment, continually veering, did not fix and settle before the middle of September.^d

Louis XIV., more sagacious and experienced, better served by his ambassadors and spies at the Hague, Vienna, Rome, and Madrid, and viewing the European system from the centre of movement, never for a moment doubted or mistook the real designs of the Prince of Orange, or ceased to impress his convictions upon James. In the beginning of June he proposed a junction of the French and British fleets, to intimidate the Prince from his enterprise, or defeat him if he should attempt it. James's ministers acknowledged, with many compliments to Barillon, the beneficial effects of the junction upon the King's enemies, both abroad and at

^a Bur. vol. iii. p. 264. Oxf. ed.

^b Life of King James, vol. ii. p. 176, 177.

^c Bar. au Roi, 13 Mai, 1688. Fox MSS.

^d Life of King James.

home, pending the trial of the Bishops.^a It was, notwithstanding, eventually declined. The most earnest warnings, and even the most startling evidence, were now rejected by James, with an obstinacy which proves him the most deceived of sovereigns, or the most infatuated of men. D'Avaux acquainted Louis, who, in his turn, acquainted James, with the real object of the Prince's preparations.^b The same intelligence was communicated to him directly from the Hague by his own envoy, D'Albyville.^c Skelton, his ambassador at Paris, denounced to him the projected invasion upon information still more positive. A Frenchman, named Bude de Verace, in the service of the Prince of Orange and intimate confidence of Bentinck, was dismissed under circumstances which provoked his resentment. He retired to Geneva, and wrote thence to Skelton, whom he had known at the Hague, that "he had things to communicate to the King of England, of no less concern than the crown he wore." Skelton repeatedly and vainly pressed James to permit his communicating with Verace, and ascertaining the value of his disclosures.^d It is imputed to Sunderland that he intercepted and suppressed Skelton's letters respecting Verace;^e but the compiler of the Life of James from his MS. Memoirs, who was far from disposed to extenuate the duplicity of the minister, speaks of their having made no impression upon the King not only as a fact, but as the cause of the last mission of Bonrepaux.

The objects of this mission appear to be generally misstated. The first alarm, it has been said, which reached James of the designs of the Prince of Orange, was conveyed to him by Bonrepaux.^f It has been shown that the King had many previous intimations, and that his suspicions of the Prince were wrought to strong persuasion nearly three months before the arrival of that envoy on the 25th of August. The next object of the mission, generally alleged, was to "set on foot" an alliance. This is but a repetition of the attempt made in the preceding year to establish the belief of a treaty between England and France for the extirpation of the Protestant religion throughout Europe. The real purpose for which Bonrepaux came over appears to have been sim-

^a Bar. au Roi, 21 Juin. 1688. Fox MSS.

^b Le Roi à Bar. Sept. 1688. Fox MSS.

^c Ibid.

^d Burnet and his followers.

^e Life of K. James, vol. ii. p. 176.

^f Life of King William.

ply this : Louis XIV., finding every attempt to open the eyes of the King, and particularly the recent endeavours of Skelton, unavailing, despatched a man of capacity and confidence to convince him of his danger, and offer him the aid of 30,000 Frenchmen.*

Bishop Kennet ventures to suppose that the offer of French troops was rejected through the agency of Divine Providence. Others have ascribed the refusal to the advice of Lord Sunderland. That minister himself claims the merit of having induced the King to decline French aid; but denies all knowledge of a treaty, and says not a word of any having been proposed. Sunderland impressed upon the King, that the presence of such a French force would reduce him to the condition of a mere viceroy of Louis, and render him odious to his subjects. Nothing but a sense of the extremity of his danger could resist this view of the consequences in the mind even of James, debased as he was. His danger, however, was really extreme; and the only wonder is, that, with so many warnings and indications, he did not already entertain this sense. But Lord Sunderland was assisted by skilful confederates, and James was lulled into treacherous security.

Ronquillo, the Spanish ambassador, alarmed anew by the presence of Bonrepaux, obtained a private audience of the King, deliberately assured him, whilst he knew it to be false, that the Dutch armament was not destined against him,^b and suggested to him, that the continued presence of a French envoy extraordinary not only gave cause of alarm to other powers, but would defeat every hope of obtaining from a parliament the repeal of the tests.^c The Dutch ambassador, Van Citters, disclaimed, on the part of the States, any designs against the British dominions,^d and intimated that their preparations were destined against France.^e The Prince of Orange himself gave James the same assurances of the absence of all hostile intentions.^f Lord Sunderland, thus supported by confederate testimony, ridiculed the idea of a descent upon England,^g "and had so great an influence," says James, "over all those the King most confided in, that not one of them, except my Lord Dartmouth, seemed to give any credit to the report."^h Bon-

* Life of K. James from MS. Mem. vol. ii. p. 176

^b Ibid. vol. ii. p. 177.

^c Caveat against the Whigs. Ralph, vol. i. p. 1007.

^d Id. *ibid.* Life of K. James, etc. *ubi supra*, and MS. Letters of Van Citters.

^e Kennet. Caveat, etc. Ralph.

^f MS. Mem. of King James cited in Life, *ubi supra*.

^g Ibid. *ubi supra*. Bar. au Roi, Sept. 18. 1688. Fox MSS.

^h MS. Mem. of K. James. Ibid. *ubi supra*.

repaux returned to France astonished at James's disbelief of the information and rejection of the offer with which he was charged. "The court of France," says the compiler of the *Life from the King's Manuscript Memoirs*, "was equally astonished at his Majesty's surprising security."

His Majesty, however, did not wholly neglect the advices received by him. He instructed D'Albyville to demand an explanation from the States of Holland. "The preparations of their lordships," D'Albyville said, "by sea and land, but especially by sea, in a time of peace and so late in the year, obliged the King, as their ancient ally, to demand an explanation of their intentions, and at the same time to reinforce his own fleet, with a view to the maintenance of the peace of Christendom."^a

The States would have found it difficult to answer this demand, if a plausible excuse had not conveniently presented itself. The memorial of D'Albyville was dated the 5th of September. D'Avaux presented to the States a memorial, dated the 9th, in the name of his master, inferring, from several circumstances recited in detail, that the Dutch naval preparations could have no other object than the invasion of England, and notifying that his Christian Majesty would regard any act of hostility against the King of England, a prince with whom he was connected by ties of amity and alliance, as an infraction of the peace, and an attack upon France. A similar notice was given in the same memorial respecting Cardinal Furstenberg, Elector of Cologne. The States adroitly turned the memorial of D'Avaux against D'Albyville. They declared to him that they had armed in imitation of the King of England and other princes; that they were long satisfied of the existence of a secret treaty between the Kings of England and France, that the fact was now placed beyond doubt by the avowal of the French ambassador, and that they could not properly answer the English memorial until their ambassador in London had transmitted to them a copy of the treaty between James and Louis. James had already assured Ronquillo and the other foreign ministers at his court, that no new or secret treaty existed between himself and the King of France. The memorial of D'Avaux subjected him to the imputation of bad faith, and the odium of a French alliance. Lord Sunderland urged in council, that the French memorial was a justifi-

^a Neville, vol. i. p. 118. and Kennet, vol. iii. p. 519. Dutch Pol. Cor. MS.

cation of the Dutch armament; that the Protestant subjects of James would regard a French alliance as designed, not only against their liberties but their lives; * and that it should therefore be disclaimed. It was accordingly disavowed by the King through his ministers at the Hague, Vienna, and Madrid. Louis conveyed through Barillon his dissatisfaction at James's giving a direct disclaimer, instead of answering vaguely or equivocally. Sunderland replied, that the supposition of a league with France would revolt the nation; and Barillon writes to his master, that he found English pride hurt by James's being placed on a level with Cardinal Furstenberg.

The French memorial originated with Skelton, the British ambassador at Paris, in a conversation with Croisy, French minister of foreign affairs. The ambassador observed to the minister, that not only were the eyes and ears of the King of England closed against the most decisive evidence of the Dutch designs, but that the Prince of Orange was informed of several matters which he had written on the subject to James, and that he suspected treachery in Lord Sunderland, to whom his dispatches were addressed. They concluded that the King could be effectually served only by acting beyond the reach of Sunderland, and consequently without the King's knowledge. Skelton advised, that without consulting James, the French ambassador at the Hague should declare the intentions of the King of France in the manner above stated. A menacing notice was conveyed at the same time, and on the advice of Skelton, to Guadagnaga, the Spanish governor of Brussels. It was notified to him, that, from the close relations between Spain and Holland, the Spaniards would be held parties to any attack by the Dutch on the King of England or the Elector of Cologne, and French troops should immediately march into the Spanish Netherlands. Sunderland, who was constantly suspected and denounced by Skelton, and who hated, or, as he said, despised Skelton in return, indulged his resentment, and gave weight to the disavowal of the French alliance by the recall of the ambassador who had what he called the extravagance to suggest such proceedings.^b Skelton, on his recall, was committed to the Tower.

The haughty Louis took no serious offence at this disavowal of his ambassador's memorial by James. It is not easy to determine whether he was subdued by policy, compassion, or contempt. He

* Life of King James, etc., vol. ii. p. 180.

^b B'Adda, 4th Oct. 1668.

declared, by way of rejoinder,* that there was no formally signed treaty between himself and the King of England; but that the relations of friendship between them since the accession of the latter, constituted an alliance no less binding than if it were expressly stipulated; and that Skelton merited a recompence, not his disgrace.

The supposition and belief of a treaty suited too well the views of the States and the Prince to be easily abandoned by them. In spite of the disavowal of James, and the explanation of Louis, they repeated and reiterated its existence. It was their interest not to be convinced.

There is less excuse for the bad faith of Burnet, who was bound in every respect by more sacred obligations to the truth. With the knowledge which he must have had of the disavowal of James, the explanation of Louis, and the positive denial of any secret treaty by Lord Sunderland, he yet has had the hardihood to consign as a fact, that the French alliance was clearly proved to exist, and leaves it to be supposed that the only adverse evidence was the pretended disgrace of Skelton.

Van Citters had gone over to Holland in the summer, for the purpose, doubtless, of concerting personally with the States and the Prince, the invasion of England. William seems to have given his entire confidence only to his countrymen,—a natural sentiment in the bosom of one, who, whatever his faults, may be justly called a patriot prince;—but a serious argument against a nation's placing a foreigner at the head of its affairs,—unless the nation be so deplorably effete or debased as not to possess within itself the elements of executive government. The Dutch ambassador, on his return to London in September, assured the King, in the name of the States, that they were most anxious to preserve his friendship, and armed only as a precautionary measure of self-defence. He then remonstrated, by his own account, very resolutely against the French alliance. The King, after a moment's pause, says the ambassador, replied, that he thought it right to increase his navy, because English rebels were protected in Holland, and rumours prevailed that the Dutch naval armament was destined to attack him. He then declared, on the word of a prince, that he would maintain peace with the States, unless they were the aggressors; that Bonrepaux offered him the aid of a French fleet and army,

* *Le Roi à Bar.*, 30 Sept. 1688. Fox MSS.

which he declined; that nothing had passed respecting a treaty or a supply of money, but that he believed both would have been proposed if he had not declined the first proposition of the French envoy. The last suggestion,—evidently designed to intimidate the Dutch,—proves the sincerity of his pacific declarations and his secret fears.

Louis XIV. had coupled the Cardinal Elector of Cologne with the king of England, in the memorial of D'Avaux. The Dutch ambassador again tried to pique the King's pride by observing, that the King of France placed his Majesty on a level with his creature and vassal. James replied, that he knew himself to be King of England, and would always act as such.^a Unfortunately for himself, he did not act, and he was, perhaps, incapable of acting, up to his word. Van Citters, in pursuance of instructions from the States, again requested, in the name of his government, a copy of the treaty. The King answered by simply asking how he could furnish a copy of a treaty which never had existence.^b

James may be hated for his tyranny, or despised for his infatuation, but he must be pitied for the duplicity with which he was abused to his destruction. Pending these assurances of pacific intention, and expressions of pretended alarm by the Dutch ambassador to the King, the Prince of Orange was preparing, with the utmost anxiety and secrecy, for the invasion of England. The German princes in his interest had, early in August, already begun to levy troops for his service. He was troubled by what he calls an egregious blunder^c of the Duke of Wurtemberg in disclosing to his council the purpose of the levies. The council, however, kept the secret. Lord Danby at the same time assured the Prince, by letter, that the armament of the King of France had reference to other objects than the affairs of Cologne, and expressed doubts whether the expedition should not be postponed to the following spring. William's agitation was extreme. His preparations, he says, were incomplete; the affair had got wind; he knew not what to resolve; his mind was tortured by uncertainty, and he had more than ever need of the Divine guidance. The last expression, addressed in a private letter to a friend, could proceed only from a sincere and

^a Van Citt., 21st Sept. 1688.

^b Id. 1st Oct. 1688.

^c "Une grande bérue." Guil. III. au Comte de Portland, 29 Août, 1688.

^d "J'ai plus que jamais besoin de la direction divine, n'étant pas assez éclairé quel parti prendre." Ibid.

profound feeling of religion. It is yet strangely out of place, in reference to a design of which the morality was more than doubtful.

The draft of a declaration to be published by the Prince in justification of his enterprise, was sent over to him by his friends in England. "Peruse," he writes to Bentinck, "and reperuse, with Fagel and Dyckvelt, the draft of my declaration. You will perceive, by its conclusion, that I throw myself entirely at the mercy of a parliament. I much fear it cannot be otherwise; and yet to trust one's destiny to them is no slight hazard."^a Here again he opens his whole mind only to his countrymen, and he reveals to them the secret, that he hated parliaments like Louis and James.

The indecision of William respecting the immediate execution or postponement of "the great affair," as he calls the invasion in his private letters, continued to the end of August. Reasons urged by Fagel at last decided him.^b In the beginning of September he proceeded to Minden, in Westphalia, for the purpose of concerting in person his military arrangements with the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Lunenburg, and the Duke of Zell. The fear that the secret of his enterprise had escaped, haunted his imagination. The French, he supposed, were urging their warlike preparations to prevent his expedition, not, as they pretended, to attack the Emperor. James, in a letter to the Princess, had said, that he had no news to send her, but that he expected news from the Hague, in consequence of the great naval armament of the States, and the march of the French Marshal D'Humieres to the support of Cardinal Furstenberg. "The King," says William to Bentinck, "certainly named the Cardinal, by way of giving a covert hint that he knew what was designed against himself." He describes his mind as most painfully agitated from an apprehension that his design might fail, with the aggravation of being engaged in a great war.^c William III. has left the reputation of one of the most resolved, firm, steady-purposed and phlegmatic of men. This effusion of his secret soul, in a private letter, is instructive and interesting, when compared with his life and character. It shows that minds of the utmost force may be

^a "Et pourtant remettre son sort à eux n'est pas peu hazarder.

^b Guil. III. au Comte de Portland, 31 Août, 1688. Ibid.

^c "Certainement il veut faire réflexion sur lui, et nomme le Cardinal pour nous donner le change. . . . J'avoue que ceci me met dans de terribles peines et inquiétudes, craignant que notre dessein avortera, et que nous voilà engagé en une grande guerre." Id. 4 Sept. 1688.

agitated and unresolved, where the hazards are balanced, and the consequences momentous; and that the strongest mind is that which keeps the secret of its weakness from the common eye.

D'Avaux, on the 7th of September, presented to the States a second memorial, setting forth that his master was aware of certain movements and cabals on the side of the electorate of Cologne, and was resolved to defend the rights and privileges of Cardinal Furstenberg and the chapter against all interference. This was equivalent to the menace of a declaration of war. The visit of the Prince to Minden, and his conferences with the German princes, were known throughout Europe. William, in corresponding with his devoted father-in-law, either gave him indirectly to understand, or directly stated to him, that the object of the Minden conferences was to prepare for war against France on the Rhine. "I have," says James, in the last letter addressed by him to the Prince, "received yours of the 17th (new style) from the Hague, by which I find you were come back thither from a voyage you had made into Germany to speak with some of the princes there. I am sorry there is so much likelihood of war upon the Rhine, nobody wishing more the peace of Christendom than myself."^a Barillon, at the same time, writes from London to his master, that the ministers of James thought it impossible the Prince of Orange could think of making a descent upon England, whilst war was ready to break out upon the Rhine and the Meuse. He further states that the Princess of Orange had written a letter to her father, informing him, that the Prince, her husband, went to Minden for the sole purpose of getting the princes assembled there to march their troops to the Rhine.^b It was a common maxim of the Protestants of the age, that papists do not consider themselves bound in conscience to keep faith with heretics. Here is a Protestant princess, accounted the most religious of her time, who does not scruple to deceive a papist to the peril of his state and life, though that papist was her father! When, at a subsequent period, she ascended with a revolting show of joy the throne from which her father had just been hurled by her husband, and in her name, it was said that she acted as the mere puppet of a domestic tyrant. The same melancholy plea for outraging filial and Christian piety may, perhaps, be set up for her here.

^a The King to the Prince of Orange, Dal. App. p. 291.

^b Bar. au Roi, 16. Oct. 1688. Fox MSS.

The conduct of William is but one instance more of the morality of ambition. But a man may have the merits of a deliverer, without the virtues or the weaknesses of a hero.

The Prince of Orange, in his anxiety to keep his design secret, went to Minden without acquainting the States-General with his journey.^a On his return to the Hague, he communicated to the deputies of foreign affairs his arrangements and his views. The deputies in their turn reported to the States their conference with the Prince. Their report bears date the 20th of September, and the design against James is not yet avowed. His Highness, the deputies say, finding that the King of France laboured to injure the commerce and detach the allies of the States, more especially their ancient and intimate ally, the King of England, thought it more than time to assume a posture of defence, and considering the difference between new and old troops in actual war, had contracted at Minden to take into the pay and service of the Republic German troops, to be furnished by princes of the Empire in the following proportions: viz. the Elector of Brandenburg to furnish 5900; the Dukes of Zell and Wolfenbottel, 3951; the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, 2400; the Duke of Wurtemberg, 1000 men. The arrangement, they add, was carried by the Prince only so far as to be still dependent on the pleasure of the States.

On the 8th of October, the Prince and the States avowed to each other their designs on England. On the advice of the Prince, the Republic took into its pay and service a further force of 6000 Swedes.^b

The enterprise of the Prince of Orange was thus supplied and forwarded by the authorities of the Republic with surprising zeal. It is in politics, and above all in diplomacy, that language is employed to conceal, not disclose intentions. Nothing could be more superficial than to suppose, with the manifestoes of the time, that their High Mightinesses, who loved gain quite as much as liberty, and, like most other republicans, were indifferent to the liberty of every country but their own, embarked their subjects and their wealth in the enterprise against popery, slavery, and James, from affection to the Prince of Orange, the Protestant religion, or the liberties of the English people. How was the Louvestein party, comprising the best citizens of the Republic, and hating both the

^a Lett. de Guil. III. au Comte de Portland, 4th Sept. 1688.

^b Secret Delib. St. Gen., 20th Sept. 1688. MS.

house of Orange and the office of Stadtholder, reconciled almost of a sudden to the magistracy and the magistrate? Bishop Burnet accounts for it by Louis's having cut off the supplies of secret service money to D'Avaux, who in consequence could no longer bribe the deputies.^a The same slander is to be found in the spurious *Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon*. Both the right reverend historian, and the anonymous fabricator, are refuted by the correspondence of D'Avaux.^b That ambassador ransacked the cabinets, and stole the secrets of the Prince of Orange, the States, and even his own subaltern, D'Albyville, by corrupting no higher virtue than that of domestics, confessors, adepts in forgery, and court intriguers.

Jacobite writers have ascribed the zeal and unanimity of the chief cities of Holland to the interest which they had in the fall of a King of England, who thought only of extending the trade and husbanding the wealth of his subjects, and to their hopes of benefit from the elevation of the Prince of Orange, who would govern England with the prepossessions of a Hollander. This supposition is not groundless. The Prince of Orange gave a secret intimation to the States, that they had the deepest interest in his success. D'Avaux writes to his master as a fact of which he was assured, that the Prince told the council he was invited over by great lords and bishops, who looked upon Prince George of Denmark as unequal to the crisis; and that if he did not accept the invitation, England would become a republic,—which would be the ruin of Holland.^c But the more generous guardians of the liberty of the Republic must have favoured his enterprise from other and higher motives. His military preparations, so late as the beginning of 1687, were regarded with jealous fear by the Dutch patriots, who suspected him of designs against whatever of republican liberty survived the revival of the Stadtholderate.^d His real design, after

^a Bishop Burnet manoeuvred at the same time to engage the Duke of Hanover in the enterprise. With this view, he, "of himself," by his account, "acquainted the Duchess Sophia with the secret, and promised the settlement of the succession to the crown in her and her posterity, by the exclusion of Papists;"—thus disclosing the great secret, and a second time disposing of the succession, without consulting the Prince of Orange. This is one of the strokes of incredible presumption which have exposed Burnet to suspicion and ridicule.

^b *Négot. du Comte D'Avaux*, in print, and in Fox MSS., extracted from the *Dé. pôs des Affaires Etrangères*, at Paris.

^c "Ce qui serait la ruine de ce pays-ci." D'Avaux to the King, 15th Oct. 1686 Fox MSS. corroborated by extracts from *Sec. Delib. of St. Gen. MS.*

^d Bonrepaux to Seignelai, 25th Feb. 1686. Fox MSS.

some time, became apparent, and all jealousy disappeared. The Louvestein party, now considering that he had no son to inherit usurped power in Holland; and concluding that the crown of England must satiate his ambition, however devouring, lent itself willingly to an enterprise which would either convert an aspiring hereditary chief of the Republic into a powerful foreign ally—or prove fatal to him.

CHAPTER XIV.

Counsels of the King and Sunderland.—Offers and Supplies of Louis XIV.—War on the Continent.—Fears of the King.—His Overtures to the States General.—The King's Interviews with the Bishops.—Enquiry respecting the Birth of the Prince of Wales.—Fall of Sunderland.—Naval and Military Preparations of the King.

JAMES, meanwhile, would not be effectually awakened from his fatal delusion. He was acted upon by such powerful arts of intrigue and perfidy, that Barillon, who was within the circle, did not wholly escape them. Louis XIV. alone never doubted the designs of the Prince of Orange. Writing to Barillon, on the 18th and 21st of September, he expresses his astonishment at the blindness of James and his ministers. "At the court where you are," says he, "they seem asleep and spell-bound, whilst threatened at home and abroad with the greatest conspiracy ever formed."^a Barillon, without venturing to differ with his master, says, that James and Sunderland think the invasion of England visionary, because the Prince of Orange could hope to succeed only by conducting the expedition in person; and this was impossible whilst Holland was threatened from the Meuse and the Rhine.^b He does not, he says, dispute the matter directly with Sunderland and the King. It was become a court fashion^c to laugh at those who entertained the idea of an invasion as possible,^d and he was himself the object

^a Bar. Correa. Fox MSS.

^b Bar. Correa. 3d and 16th Sept. Fox MSS.

^c *Air de la cour*, etc. The MS. Mem. of the King cited in the "Life" and the letters of Barillon thus coincide.

^d Bar. 18th Sept. Fox MSS.

of much court raillery. James, he thinks, but concealed his fears; whilst the incredulity of Lord Sunderland was not an artifice to betray, but an effect of the national presumption. It is a common opinion that Lord Sunderland made Barillon his dupe. He certainly employed the most effectual weapon against a Frenchman, whose first fear is that of raillery and ridicule.

Whilst Sunderland treated as a chimera^a the notion of an invasion, he took or affected to take measures of defence. But if a vigorous resolution was taken one day, it was abandoned the next. It was proposed in a council of the chief Catholics, that officers of doubtful fidelity should be dismissed, and James approved it. But recollecting, or being reminded of, the conduct of the troops in Monmouth's rebellion, he changed his mind.^b It was actually resolved, about the middle of September, that Halifax, Danby, Shrewsbury, Nottingham, and others, suspected of favouring the Prince of Orange, should be placed under arrest.^c Two only of those named were engaged in the conspiracy; but of the wisdom of the measure generally there cannot be a doubt. So obvious was its prudence, that it was anticipated by Sidney as the certain consequence of a discovery of the Prince's preparations, and as likely to ruin his enterprise. "It is certain," says he, "that if it be made public above a fortnight before it be put in execution, all your friends will be clapped up, which will terrify others, or at least make them not know what to do, and will in all probability ruin the whole design."^d This resolution, too, was abandoned through the advice of Sunderland; who contended, that many could not be seized, and the seizure of a few would but give an alarm.^e

Louis XIV. persevered in offering James his counsels and his aid, and urged him to prepare for hostilities. The King, in reply, expressed his readiness to go the utmost length short of actual war with the Dutch.^f He proposed to equip a fleet of thirty ships of war; and at the same time intimated, through Sunderland, that this increase of the naval force could not be effected without money. Barillon offered 400,000 livres,^g which sum, after many attempts by Sunderland to obtain more, was accepted. James engaged to fit out twenty men of war and eight fire-ships. The two

^a Le Roi à Bar. Fox MSS.

^b Bar. 30 Août. Fox MSS.

^c Bar. au Roi, 18 Sept.

^d Sidney to the Prince of Orange. Dal. App. p. 281.

^e Burn. vol. iii. p. 214.

^f Bar. au Roi, 22 Mars, 1688. Fox MSS.

^g Ibid.

Kings differed respecting their destination. Louis would have them sent to the Northern Seas, for the purpose of preventing a junction of the Dutch and Swedish fleets. James thought it more advisable that they should be kept in the Downs or the Channel, to attain the same end. Neither, probably, avowed his real object. The former sought to precipitate, the latter to avoid the chances of a hostile collision between the English and Dutch.^a

Barillon hesitated whether he should insist on a money treaty, regularly signed, or trust to an unsigned memorandum, and the honour of the contracting parties. His master dispensed with a written engagement; sent bills of exchange to be employed in part payment; disclaimed all intention of engaging James in a quarrel with the Dutch or any other power; and declared, that all he requested of him was, to make such demonstrations, and use such a tone, as would tend to the preservation of peace.^b Notwithstanding the common interests and intimate relations of the two sovereigns, each obviously practised dissimulation in his transactions with the other. "Tell your master," said James to Barillon, "that I pledge myself to every thing short of making war; perhaps I may be brought, by little and little, even to that: as soon as I have my fleet equipped at sea, they shall find me taking a higher tone, and my mediation will be more authoritative."^c He evidently held out this lure as an artifice to expedite the payment of the whole supply. But the circumstance is more deserving of attention in another respect. If, in this and other instances, he indisputably dissembled with Louis, may not his few and subdued commendations of the French King's zeal to eradicate Protestantism in France by persecution, have proceeded from the interests of the politician, not from the sympathies of the persecutor?

On the 5th of August, Louis doubted for a moment, upon what he called good information, whether the Dutch fleet would attempt any thing against England before the following year, but declares that his fleet is ready to act at the shortest notice:^d on the 12th he repeats to James his warnings of immediate danger, and instructs Barillon to ascertain the state of the King's forces by sea and land, and the fidelity of the officers.^e He urged strenuously, that such

^a Barillon au Roi, 8 Avril, 1688. Fox MSS.

^b Le Roi à Bar. 5 Avril, 1688. Fox MSS.

^c The same to the same, 15th April, 1688.

^d Le Roi à Bar. 5 Aug. 1688. Fox MSS.

^e Id. *ibid.*

regiments as could be relied on should be brought over from Ireland. The prejudice in England against the Irish was still stronger than that against the French; and this measure also was over-ruled through the influence of Sunderland, Churchill, and the Duke of Grafton.^a

The French King was now on the eve of declaring war nominally against the Emperor—in fact, against the whole confederacy of Augsburg. It is stated, that he proposed to begin by attacking Maestricht and the Low Countries,—not Philipsburgh and the Empire,^b—which would paralyse or divert the armament of the Prince of Orange. This he enjoined James to keep inviolably secret, even from his ministers. The States soon reinforced the garrison of Maestricht with 6000 men. Louis had confided the secret only to Louvois, and desired to be informed by James whether he had communicated it to any person. The latter replied, that he had told it only to Lord Sunderland; upon which the French monarch gave him up in despair, as a man so bent upon his own ruin that nothing could save him.^c

A version somewhat different is given in the military memoirs of Louis XIV. It is there stated, that war being resolved, the ministers of Louis were divided as to the manner of opening the campaign. On the one side it was proposed to operate powerfully by sea, and march a strong force against Maestricht and the Low Countries. This would prevent the Dutch from employing their fleet and army in an expedition against England. On the other side it was urged, that the Empire should be attacked with promptitude and vigour, which would compel the Emperor, pressed on his eastern frontier by the Turks, to call the Prince of Orange to his aid.^d The latter counsel prevailed with Louis, under the auspices of Louvois; and the Dauphin left Versailles on the 25th^e of September, to take the command of the army, which already invested Philipsburgh.^e This is described as the first false step in the first

^a MS. Memoirs cited in Life of K. James, vol. ii. p. 187.

^b Life of King William. Kennett.

^c Dart. Note on Burnet, 314, 315, and Dal. App.

^d Œuvres de Louis XIV. tom. iv. p. 285.

Voltaire dates his departure the 22d, and says, that when leaving the court he was addressed publicly by Louis XIV. in the following words, which, from the mouth of that proud and pampered monarch to the heir of his crown, are not destitute of grandeur and magnanimity:—"Mon fils, en vous envoyant commander mes armées, je vous donne les occasions de faire connaître votre mérite. Allez le montrer à toute l'Europe, afin que quand je viendrai à mourir on ne s'aperçoive pas que le roi soit mort."

Œuvres de Louis XIV. tom. iv. p. 256.

war which proved inglorious to Louis XIV.^a D'Avaux writes on the subject with remarkable frankness to his master. "Never," says he, "did news give more joy to the Prince of Orange, than the intelligence of the siege of Philipsburgh, so much did he fear the march of the French troops upon Flanders or the Lower Rhine."^b In a subsequent letter he says, the siege of Philipsburgh had raised the Dutch funds ten per cent., and the States-General had become insolent upon their good fortune.^c Had Louis fallen promptly with his chief force upon the Spanish Netherlands and the United Provinces, this attack, it has been said, would have disconcerted the measures of the Prince of Orange.^d The remark will probably suggest itself in reply, that the Prince with his sagacity and prudence, the States with their paramount regard to their own safety and interests, must have contemplated and provided against a contingency so obvious. It was, in point of fact, contemplated, and precautions were taken by the Prince of Orange. But he still regarded the opening of the campaign on the part of the French, by operating against the Low Countries, with the deepest anxiety. He apprehended, as the consequence, that the German Princes could not spare him their troops; that Marshal D'Humières had only to march on Brussels in order to become master of the Low Countries; and that the States-General, threatened with danger so immediate and formidable, would abandon altogether the expedition to England.^e This error of Louis, if really committed by him, was one of his most serious mistakes both in war and politics. It would seem as if his more fortunate and sagacious counsels were influenced for a moment by the evil destiny of James.

But whatever may have been the truth respecting an attack upon Maestricht, and however Louis may have expressed himself respecting James as a man doomed to destruction, he did not abandon him to his fate. He proposed to reinforce the British fleet with a French squadron of sixteen sail; and with this combined force to attack and overpower the invading Dutch fleet.^f A treaty for the junction of the French and English fleets was signed, but with blanks left for the time and place. James, deferring still to the fears and prejudices of his subjects, and the advice of his council,^g

^a Œuvres de Louis XIV, tome iv. p. 256.

^b D'Avaux to the King, 27th Sept. 1688. *Négot. du Comte D'Avaux.*

^c Id. 4th Oct. 1688. *Ibid.*

^d Œuvres de Louis XIV. tom. iv. p. 286. *note.*

^e Lett. de Guill. III. au Comte de Portland.

^f *Life of K. James, 186.*

^g Bar. au Roi, 16 Sept. 1688.

rejected the offer of the French squadron, as he had rejected that of the French troops, but desired that it should be kept disposable at Brest. The negociation did not escape the Dutch ambassador, Van Citters. He remonstrated with the King, and repeated his disclaimer of any hostile designs on the part of the Republic. James replied, that he had no intention to employ the French fleet, unless compelled to it by the ambassador's masters.^a Even when the invasion was placed beyond doubt, he abstained from employing the squadron at Brest; "finding," he says, "a general aversion, not only in his council, but in all his commanders by sea and land, to the assistance proffered by France."^b He adds, that "the Duke of Grafton, Lord Churchill, and others, had already taken their measures with the Prince of Orange, and had so great an apprehension of the French squadron joining, that they industriously fomented the natural aversion the English have to the French, in order to prevent it. Nay, they found fault with the King's sending for the few Irish, and so cunningly insinuated their pretended jealousies, that the council gave into it—some with a design to betray the King, others because their heads turned; so that those very men, who had advised the things which had given such offence to the Church of England, turned on the toe, and were at once for undoing all they had done, even to the liberty of conscience itself."^c James mentions Lord Sunderland, without directly accusing him of treachery, but in such a manner as to negative that minister's assertion that the measures most obnoxious to the Church of England were adopted against his advice.^d

The incredulity of the King respecting the enterprise of the Prince of Orange wholly ceased about the middle of September.^e He still declined the proffered aid of the French squadron, so late as the 11th of October.^f Louis, at last, appears to give up in despair. "The refusal of my fleet," he writes to D'Avaux, "by the King of England, to please his subjects, opens the way to the Prince of Orange, and nothing now remains but to wait the event."^g The King, however, possessed resources, and even took measures for resistance, which, employed by a man commonly resolute and capable, would have proved fatal to his enemy. But James was

^a Lett. of Van Citter.

^b MS. Mem. of K. James, vol. ii. p. 186.

^c MS. Mem. of K. James, cited in Life, etc. vol. ii. p. 187.

^d Ibid. p. 297.

^e Life of K. James, vol. ii. p. 177. Letters of Louis and Barillon, from 10th to 20th Sept. Fox MSS.

^f Bar. to Louis, 11th Oct. Fox MSS.

^g Louis to D'Av. 17th Oct. Fox MSS.

soon abandoned even by that spurious resolution of weak minds — his obstinacy; and when he thought the heads of his advisers turned, the only head that really turned was his own.

He made some forlorn attempts abroad to divert the storm. D'Albyville, in a formal audience, called upon the Prince of Orange to explain the motives of his warlike preparation, and to extinguish the rumours then prevalent through Europe, that he was preparing to invade England. The Prince treated the ambassador with more than his usual indifference. His only answer was, that jealousies prevailed in all quarters.^a A memorial was presented at the same time by D'Albyville to the States-General, solemnly disavowing, in the name of his master, any secret treaty of alliance with the King of France; and offering, on the King's part, to prove the truth of his asseveration, by taking measures, in concert with the States, to maintain the treaty of Nimeguen, the truce of twenty years, and the peace of Christendom. Similar assurances were given by his envoys to the other powers in amity with him. Louis, informed of those proceedings, wrote to Barillon: — "I find," said he, "that the ministers of the King of England at the Hague, and at Rome, propose on his part to join my enemies, if the Prince of Orange consents to desist from his enterprise. I am, notwithstanding, still ready to aid him."^b This was neither friendship nor magnanimity. He at last became alarmed lest James, in the extremity of his danger, should join the confederates; and instructed Barillon to suggest, as from himself, an offensive and defensive treaty. The States, meanwhile, continued to insist on the existence of a French alliance, and completed the preparations of the Prince. The military part of the armament consisted of 10,000 foot and 4000 horse, the best troops of the Republic; and the Prince, acting upon the advice of Sidney, borrowed Marshal Schomberg from the Elector of Brandenburg. Admiral Herbert, who had gone over some weeks before, was appointed to the command of the Dutch navy, with some reluctance and hesitation on the part of the States and the Prince.

The States-General had good grounds for distrusting the overtures of the King. Lord Sunderland told Barillon, that the King's sole object was delay; that he felt his affairs in the last extremity; that in eight days, perhaps, he might be driven out of England;

^a "Il y a bien de jealousies de tous côtés." Bar. to the King, 27th Sept. 1688. Fox MSS.

^b Le Roi à Barillon, 28 Oct. 1688. Fox MSS.

that drowning men catch at any thing ; that if the overtures made to the States had the effect of conjuring the storm, or creating division between the States and the Prince, his Christian Majesty would, doubtless, be the first to rejoice at so fortunate a result.^a " I see," said Louis, " Sunderland will do any thing, however detrimental to his master, only to gain time." The only advantage which James derived from the memorial of d'Albyville, was the equivocal or slight one of publishing it in the same Gazette which announced to the nation the undoubted intelligence of an invasion from Holland.^b

The King's measures of defence may be divided into political and military. The former was an abandonment or recantation of his whole course of domestic policy to that hour. He unsaid and undid all that he had hitherto said and done, and went backwards, as he had gone forward, under the influence of Lord Sunderland.^c That minister, denounced by his enemies, and suspected by his master, had recovered his credit by declaring himself a Catholic. The King's first step, under his guidance, was to command the attendance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and such other prelates as were within his reach. Lord Sunderland, who wrote to them in the King's name, merely stated, that " his Majesty thought it requisite to speak to them." An interview took place. It ended only in general expressions of favour and affection on the part of the King, and of duty and loyalty on the part of the bishops.^d One bishop (Ken) is stated to have observed, " that they might as well not have stirred a foot out of their dioceses."^e This descent or ascent from spiritual obsequiousness to profane familiarity was a sign not to be mistaken of the decline and fall of the king.

Writs had been issued for the meeting of a parliament. To neutralise the bad impression produced by the " closeting," and calm the fears entertained for the Established Church; it was announced by proclamation, for the better guidance of the electors, that the elections should take place with entire freedom ; that his Majesty's object was to establish liberty of conscience by act of parliament, preserve the several Acts of Uniformity, and exclude

^a Bar. au Roi, 3 et 7 Oct. 1688. Fox MSS.

^b Gazette, 21st Sept. 1678.

^c MS. Mem. of King James, cited in Life, etc.

^d Ralph, vol. i. p. 1012. The King told them he should take off the suspension of the Bishop of London. He little thought that the disobedient Bishop was at the time guilty of high treason, in signing the invitation to the Prince of Orange.

^e Id. *ibid.*

those already disqualified from the House of Commons.^a A second proclamation made known the fact, and exposed in detail the false pretences and real purposes of the Dutch invasion, led by the Prince of Orange, whose object was absolute conquest of the kingdom.^b "Whilst (the King said) some restless and wicked spirits, forgetting former miseries, and insensible to his reiterated mercies, would embroil the kingdom in blood and rapine, he relied upon the courage, fidelity, and allegiance of his people; and as he had formerly ventured his life for the safety and honour of the nation, so now he was resolved to live and die in the defence thereof." This obliged him, he said, contrary to his intention and inclination, to recall the writs for Parliament, because he could not attend it, having to appear at the head of his army, where his presence was no less necessary.^c

The approach of invasion thus put to flight all hope of a parliament, which, even without this incident, would probably not have been assembled.^d On the 2d of October, James issued a general pardon, from which, however, sixteen persons, voluntary exiles, or persons fled from justice in the late and present reign, were excepted; ^e and, to the great joy of the citizens, promised the restoration of the ancient charter of London.

The Bishops, as may be conceived from the sally of Bishop Ken, were piqued by the fruitless termination of their interview with the King. They had come prepared to be consulted by him as "the chief support of the English monarchy;" ^f and either to sway his counsels with episcopal humility, or to produce a theatrical effect which should survive the eclat of their late martyrdom in the Tower.^g The Archbishop of Canterbury, at their request, solicited an audience. He waited on the King for this purpose, on Sunday the 30th of September; and was told that he should be received, with the other prelates, on the following Tuesday. Their audience was postponed to Wednesday. James, meanwhile, proclaimed his general pardon, and the restoration of its charter to the city of London. The Bishops were thus foiled in their calculation of obtaining credit with the city and the public as the King's advisers in these acts of royal grace.

^a Gaz. 21st Sept. 1688.

^b Gaz. 28th Sept. 1688.

^c Life of King James, from his MS. Mem. vol. ii. p. 184.

^d Bar. au Roi, 2 Sept. 1688. Fox MSS.

^e Burnet was of the number.

^f Richard.

^g Vide Sprat's account. Letter to Dorset.

On Wednesday the 3d of October the Archbishop, accompanied by the Bishops of Ely, Chichester, Rochester, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, London, Winchester, and St. Asaph, waited on the King with their written advice, under ten several heads. It set forth, in substance, that he should employ in the public service those only who were legally qualified; abolish the ecclesiastical commission; restore the president and fellows of Magdalen College; set aside all licences by which Catholics taught public schools; allow the dispensing power to be debated and settled in parliament; inhibit the four foreign (Catholic) bishops calling themselves Vicars Apostolical; fill up the bishoprics and other benefices in England and Ireland, and more especially the archiepiscopal chair of York; restore the other charters, "as," says the Archbishop, "we hear God hath put into your Majesty's heart to do for the city of London, *which we intended to have made otherwise one of our principal requests;*" call a free and regular parliament for the securing the Church of England and the liberties and properties of all his subjects, in which parliament also provision should be made for a due liberty of conscience; above all, that his Majesty would allow his bishops to offer him such motives and arguments as may persuade him to renounce the communion of the Church of Rome, and return to that of the Church of England, in which he had been baptised and educated. The King might have told their Lordships, in reply to this last article, that though the fact of being baptized and educated in a religion be one of the most common motives for continuing in it, yet it is no argument for its truth, and consequently no spiritual reason for returning to it. Of two Protestant church dignitaries, the one,^a an archdeacon, states that the Archbishop endeavoured to bring back the King to the religion of his baptism and education in a private conference, by "a discourse which savoured of all the free breathings of the primitive times of Christianity; but the Romish religion had now taken too deep root in his royal breast." The other, a bishop,^b ascribes the perverseness of James, not to the deep roots of Popery, but to Divine Providence. It is a very offensive, but very common, weakness in men to make Providence the partisan of their sectarian passions. This speech from a prelate transgresses the common limits of human presumption.

^a Echard.^b Kennet.

The advice of the Bishops failed to effect their purpose, "of getting some credit to themselves and the church."^a Churchmen, Dissenters, and Catholics united in denouncing the scheme of reconciliation submitted by the Archbishop. The parties thus in accord as to the fact of condemnation went upon widely different grounds. Dr. Sherlock disavowed it, as an abandonment of the ground taken by the Bishops in their petition; Johnson, in a pamphlet, reprobated it as "a mountebank remedy;" and the Catholics described it as a contrivance of the King's enemies. Johnson was a zealot, who seldom wrote the word *papist* without the epithet *bloody*. His violence was redeemed by his fearless conscience, and excused by the cruel sentence which he had suffered in the first year of this reign. If a fanatic were capable of reasoning, he might have reflected that it was the tyrant, not the Papist, who had wronged him.

James adopted many of the proposals which the Archbishop had made to him. He dissolved the ecclesiastical commission. The resignation of Sprat proves that tribunal to have been already on the wane. He restored the charter of London by the hands of the Chancellor Jeffreys. That person, on his way to the city, was hooted by the populace; but received at Guildhall with joyous acclamation, a harangue from the Lord Mayor, and the vote of an address of thanks to the King. The other abrogated charters were restored. In short, Catholics were removed from all but military employments; and the lords-lieutenants of counties were commanded to examine and report on all abuses committed in the recent regulations of corporate bodies.^b The Bishop of Winchester was commissioned, as visiter, "to settle the Society of Magdalen College regularly and statutably."^c These concessions, though in accordance with the proposals of the Bishops, obtained them little credit. They gave offence by some concessions which they made in return to the King. The Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Chichester joined in the consecration of Hall, as Bishop of Oxford. A new form of prayer was put forth "on his Majesty's present danger," in glowing terms of loyalty and affection to the King. "We beseech thee, oh God!" they say, "in this time of danger, save and protect our most gracious King: give thy holy angels charge over him." Two, if not three, of the Bishops who

^a Sprat's Letter.

^b Gazette, 11th October.

^c Ibid. 12th October.

thus invoked the attendance of God's angels to save and protect him,—Compton of London, Trelawney of Bristol, and Lloyd of St. Asaph's,—were engaged to the utmost depth in the enterprise of the Prince of Orange!

The King derived still less advantage from his concessions than the Bishops from their counsels. It was supposed that his concessions were extorted from his fears, and would be revoked when he found or thought himself the stronger. Bad faith and a deceitful after-thought were suspected from his measures,—especially from that relating to Magdalen College,—and the defective and inexecutable commissions issued for restoring their charters to the corporations.^a The pomp with which the Prince of Wales was baptized according to the rites of the Church of Rome was looked upon, says Bishop Kennet, “as a designed insult upon the Protestant religion.”^b

No effort at the same time was left untried to persuade the nation that the child was supposititious, and that the King and Queen conspired with the Jesuits to practice this outrageous imposture. The memorial already alluded to, published in Holland, was circulated in England. It was given out that the mother of the pretended Prince was coming over in the Dutch fleet.^c James was reduced to the necessity of adopting a measure the most afflicting and humiliating to him as a sovereign and parent. On the 22d of October he called an extraordinary meeting of the Privy Council to verify the birth of his son. The evidence was the most complete, the most conclusive, and the most revolting that could be produced, or can be imagined. When the investigation closed, James addressed the council with mournful emotion:—“There are,” says he, “none of you but will believe me who suffered so much for conscience-sake, incapable of so great a villany to the prejudice of my own children. I thank God those that know me know well that it is my principle to do as I would be done by, for that is the law and the prophets; and I would rather die a thousand deaths than do the least wrong to any of my children.” The evidence, containing details from which the imagination shrinks, was sworn, registered,

^a Reresby's Memoirs.

^b His baptism in the chapel of St. James's, by the name of James Francis Edward, with the Pope represented by the nuncio for his godfather, and the Queen-dowager godmother, was announced in the Gazette of the 15th of October.

^c Kennet.

and made public, "with," says Burnet, "a quite contrary effect to what the court expected from it."

Burnet has treated the pregnancy of the Queen and this investigation with a flagrant disregard of decency and truth. He suppresses and perverts, and rakes together, without proof, particulars which, if true, could be known only in the utmost familiarity of medical or menial attendance upon the Queen. But he had collected evidence and published pamphlets, by order, on the subject during the heat of parties, and the right reverend historian would bear out the partisan.

The Princess Anne remained unconvinced. Her conscience would be entitled to more respect if she had not studiously absented herself from the Queen's delivery and the investigation, whilst her absence was represented to be a contrivance of her father to aid the fraud. She could not conceal her dissatisfaction when a copy of the evidence was presented to her by her father's order,^a and declined receiving it, "because," she said, "no evidence could have more weight with her than the word of the King."^b Another woman might have declined the perusal from this motive, or from the delicacies of nature and her sex; but in the coarse-minded and unnatural daughter of James, it was equivocation and hypocrisy. It should be added, that her doubts vanished for a moment into an acknowledgment of "the Prince of Wales," and a pious aspiration for his eternal felicity upon the prospect of his death. Writing to her sister on the 9th of July, 1688, she says, "The Prince of Wales has been ill three or four days, and if he has been so bad as some people say, I believe it will not be long before he is an angel in heaven."^c

Sunderland, with all the dexterity of his intrigues and versatility of his changes, fell at last. His disgrace has been ascribed to the discovery of his treachery. The charge made against him by the friends of James is, that he encouraged his trusting master in all the measures respecting religion which most shocked the interests of the clergy and the prejudices of the people; that the King, by his advice, alienated the Church of England, lay and clerical; that he advised James to retrace his steps, in order to deprive him of the support of the Nonconformists, and that he betrayed the most important and secret councils of his master to the Prince of Orange.

^a Van Citt., 9th Nov. 1688.

^b MS. Mem. of K. James, cited in *Life*, etc.

^c Birche's Notes in Dal. App.

through his wife and uncle.^a The minister was closeted with the Queen, in the hope of keeping his place through her influence, when a message was brought him from the King, to deliver up the seals to Lord Middleton.^b Shrinking from the idea of court disgrace, and catching still at the shadow of court favour, he gave out that he merely retired, because it was impolitic any longer to employ Catholics, not from any distrust on the part of the King.^c His ruin was impending over him since the trial of the Bishops.^d The King, in an access of confidence, produced by his receiving a supply of 100,000 crowns from Barillon, told that minister that Sunderland "was afraid;" that he thwarted and offended persons the most faithful; that his services were no longer satisfactory.^e The faithful servants who complained of Sunderland, were, doubtless, Father Petre and Lord Melfort, who succeeded him in ruling the counsels of the King. "Lord Sunderland," says Barillon, "did not open his mind to me; he merely said that his sole offence was seeing things as they are—in extremity."^f It may be doubted or denied that Sunderland betrayed the counsels of his sovereign. He is, at least, chargeable with serving the King in a such manner as not to forfeit the favour of the Prince. But the minister who served his sovereign with this reservation was a traitor to his trust. It is avowed by himself, that "accusations of high treason, and some other reasons relating to affairs abroad, drew the King's displeasure on him,"^g and that he expected no less than the loss of his head." A letter, addressed by him to King William, dated from Amsterdam, March 8, 1689, would seem to leave little doubt that he had incurred the penalty. "I thought," says he, "I had served the public so importantly in contributing what lay in me towards the advancement of your glorious undertaking, that the having been in an odious ministry ought not to have obliged me to be absent."^h This avowal would be decisive in the case of another man; but Sunderland was one who would cover himself with fictitious infamy to serve a purpose of ambition, profit, or court favour.

Barillon, writing two days before Sunderland was dismissed, says, "the King imputed to him weakness, not treachery;" and gives it as his own opinion, that he sought only to break his fall, and secure a

^a Life of James, and Extracts from MS. Mem.

^b Bar. au Roi, 8 Nov. 1688. Fox MSS.

^c Bar. au Roi, 8 Nov. 1688. Fox MSS.

^d Bar. au Roi, 25 Oct. 1688. Fox MSS.

^e Letter of Lord Sunderland to a Friend.

^f Life of K. James, vol. ii. p. 303.

^g Id. *ibid.*

^h Del. App.

retreat.^a He asked Barillon to procure him refuge in France, boasted of his fidelity to the good cause,^b duped the French ambassador into forwarding his request with a recommendation to Louis XIV.,^c—and went to Holland. His career is not without value as a moral lesson. The most unprincipled, the most adroit, and, perhaps, the most able, of that compound class of ministers, half statesman, half intriguer, he signally failed, and neither his subsequent re-ascent nor useful services have rescued his name from contempt. It is an apparent, not a real, inconsistency in his character, that he was in theory a republican.^d Ambitious men, finding themselves unable to realise their dreams, learn to despise the community, discard their principles, abandon themselves wholly to their ambition, and swim with the stream.

Barillon calculated upon Godolphin's being the successor of Sunderland, from his possessing the secret of the French pension.^e But James confided to him that secret from necessity, not choice, because it could not be concealed from the chief of the Treasury department,—and was particularly displeased at the moment, because Godolphin advised negotiation with the Prince of Orange.^f It was expected, for a moment, that Rochester would be restored to his place and influence in the King's counsels.^g His love of place, subservient high church toryism, and the vindictive pleasure of a triumph over Sunderland, rendered this supposition not improbable. But his party now either directly participated in the designs of the Prince, or despaired of the fortunes of the King. Nottingham, after a long conference by command with the King, refused to sit in the council.^h

The Catholic interest now recovered its ascendant under the auspices of Lord Melfort and Father Petre.ⁱ The King's counsels were vacillating and weak; yet had his military measures been but as vigorously pursued as they were prudently designed, his military means but employed with a decision and energy proportioned to their strength, organisation, and the crisis;—had James himself possessed the qualities of an able captain, or had he had a capable lieutenant, instead of the degenerate nephew of Turenne,—the

^a "Se menager une chute plus douce et se préparer une retraite sûre." Bar. to the King, 25th Oct. 1688. Fox MSS.

^b Bar. to the King, 4th Nov. 1688. Fox MSS.

^c Halifax MS.

^d Id. 22d Nov.

^e Van Citt., 15th Oct. 1688.

^f Id. *ibid.*

^g Bar. 8th Nov. Fox MSS.

^h Van Citt., 9th Nov. 1688.

ⁱ Van Citt., 9th Nov. Bar. 25th Nov.

Prince of Orange would most probably have met the fate of the Duke of Monmouth.

The King began by collecting, strengthening, and disposing his fleet. He fitted out more ships to reinforce the squadron actually at sea. It now consisted of thirty sail, chiefly third and fourth rate, as best suited to the season.^a To these he added sixteen fire-ships. He, at the same time, ordered home his squadrons in the Mediterranean and the West Indies.^b Lord Dartmouth, Sir Roger Strickland, and Sir John Bury were the three flag-officers appointed to command. Dartmouth, a Protestant, was placed over Strickland, a Catholic, to conciliate the seamen. "Men came in," says the King, "so fast, that greater despatch was made than could well have been expected."^c The King, in spite of his religion, was popular in the navy: that service was greatly indebted to his zeal, his industry, and even his ingenuity; the modern system of communicating by signals was invented by him while Duke of York.

He applied himself with equal diligence to the army. Ten men, chosen for their known fidelity, and more valued on that account than for their numerical strength, were added to every regiment, horse and foot, except the guards.^d This favoured corps was accepted through confidence in its fidelity. Royal commissions were issued for raising several new regiments.^e The militias of London, and of the several counties, were called out, and ordered to hold themselves in readiness to serve for the defence of the kingdom. Three battalions of infantry, a troop of guards, and two regiments of cavalry, were recalled from Scotland.^f Three battalions of infantry, and a regiment of cavalry, were brought from Ireland. The sending for these troops, after long resistance by Lord Sunderland, was the first decisive symptom of the decline of that minister.^g The King and his counsellors were convinced that no persons of rank and property would join the Prince of Orange.^h This impression was natural. The nobility and powerful commoners offered their services, and accepted commissions to raise troops. Among the names most conspicuous were those of Newcastle, Derby, Lindsey, Pembroke, Westmoreland, Aylesbury, Burlington, Danby, Fauconberg,

^a MS. Mem. of James, cited in Life, vol. ii. p. 186.

^b Id. *ibid.* p. 191.

^c MS. Mem. cited in Life, vol. ii. p. 186.

^d Bar. au Roi, 18th Oct. 1688, Fox MSS.

^e Id. *ibid.*

^f MS. Mem.

^g Id. *ibid.*

^h Bar. au Roi. *Ibid.*

Brandon. The confidence of James, then, was natural, and doubtless had its influence in rejecting French aid. He had on foot an army of 32,000 men; which force (with the navy already mentioned) he thought sufficient to deal with the Prince of Orange, either by sea or land.^a

Of the noblemen above named several were pledged to join the Prince of Orange. "Whitehall," says the compiler of the *Life of James*, "was never more crowded with people of quality, who came to give assurance of their fidelity; and none were more copious in expressions of loyalty and affection than those who were deepest engaged in the treason; and those who durst not venture their persons in the King's presence had the impudence to send up proffers of their service. The officers of the army, themselves, followed this example; and when they kissed their majesties' hands to go down to their respective commands, those were most profuse in their proffers of shedding their blood for their service who were the first to desert to the enemy."^b

But the first and greatest failure was on the part of James to himself. His military dispositions, as narrated by him in his manuscript memoirs,^c appear to betray no want of vigour and foresight; but when the hour of action came, he was unequal to his situation. Apprehending that the Prince of Orange had accomplices in London, that his first attempt would be by the river, and that he might possess himself of Rochester and Chatham, he concentrated the chief strength of his army round the capital. If the Prince landed in the north or the west, this disposition placed the army at a convenient if not central distance to march on the point of attack. Portsmouth, Plymouth, Hull, Chester, and Carlisle were garrisoned with horse and foot. Rochester, Gravesend, Dartmouth, and Maidstone were secured by detachments from the army which defended London. Scotland and Ireland were placed in a state of defence; the one by the Privy Council, the other by Tyrconnel. They were, moreover, not immediate objects of invasion.

The King's chief want must have been that of money, in the absence of a grant from parliament. This was supplied by the permanent revenues, his own economy, and the supplies of Louis XIV.^d The condition of the last, tacit or express, appears to have been,

^a MS. *Memoirs*, cited in *Life*.

^b MS. *Mem.* cited in *Life*, 140, 141.

^c Cited in *Life of King James*.

^d *Bar. to the King*, 25th Oct. 1688. Fox MSS.

that James should consent to no compromise or negotiation with the Prince of Orange. Louis, writing to Barillon on the 1st of November, expresses his satisfaction that the money had given James increased firmness; deprecates any negotiation with the Prince, as "it would lead only to the entire ruin of the royal authority;" and advises a public declaration of war, by James, against the Prince of Orange and the States, in order to cut off all communication between them and his subjects.* The ambassador had already assured his master that the King would rather lose all than preserve a part of the royal power by concession to the Prince,† and D'Adda communicated to his court James's declaration, as a king and a gentleman, that, were the enemy at Whitehall, he would send back the first messenger who brought offers of negotiation from the Prince, hang the second, and answer with his cannon.‡ Meanwhile, the Prince of Orange and his ruin were rapidly advancing upon him.

CHAPTER XV.

Intrigues in the British Navy.—The Dutch Fleet puts to Sea.—The Prince's Declarations.—Parting of the Prince and the States General.—The Prince weighs anchor and is put back.—The Bishops refuse "an Abhorrence" of the Invasion.—The Prince sails for England.—Conduct of Lord Dartmouth.—The Prince lands at Torbay.—Measures of the King.—Progress of the Prince.—The Exeter Association.—Defections from the King.—James puts himself at the Head of his Army.—His Retreat.—Defection of Prince George and the Princess Anne.

THE progress of war on the Continent favoured the enterprise of the Prince of Orange. Louis XIV. fell upon his enemies with his accustomed force; took Philipsburgh; almost commanded the whole Palatinate; and (if a conquest so easy and ordinary, in all differences between the Pope and France, be worth mentioning) stripped his holiness of Avignon. But the incapacity of Marshall d'Humières, and the resolution of the city of Cologne, frustrated his

* Louis to Barillon, 12th Nov. 1688. Fox MSS.

† Bar. to Louis, 30th Sept. 1688. Fox MSS.

‡ D'Adda, 29th Oct. 1688.

attempts in the only quarter which would have endangered the safety of Holland. The Prince was thus at liberty to proceed with the execution of his designs.

D'Avaux, in a despatch dated so early as the 27th of September, states, that the Prince of Orange had assurances of being joined by a part of the British fleet, from several in England,—among others, from “a Colonel Cornwall.”^a This, doubtless, was Captain Cornwall of the navy; described in the MS. Memoirs of Byng, Lord Torrington, at a much later date, as still “zealous for the King;” as acknowledging the favours of James to himself and his family; as declaring it “a villany to attempt any thing against him;” and as gained over with difficulty by Byng’s persuasions, and the example of his particular friends. The part thus played by Cornwall, in affecting zeal for James, and pretending to be won over by Byng, when he was already a spy of the Prince, was but another instance of the mutual distrusts and grovelling duplicities which preceded and endangered the Revolution.

Information came to the Hague, that Strickland lay in the Downs, with about eighteen or twenty men of war, in expectation of immediate reinforcements. Admiral Herbert, who commanded the Dutch fleet, received orders to put to sea, make for the Downs, and, according to Burnet, either attack Strickland, or gain over his squadron. Contrary winds soon forced Herbert back into port, and both the States and the Prince, who had little confidence in him, were satisfied with this issue. The Prince, indeed, had expressed it as his earnest and anxious wish that Herbert should avoid an engagement.^b It is stated that the news of this event, magnified in England into a complete disabling of the Dutch fleet, had the effect of suspending for a moment the restoration of the fellows of Magdalen College, and thus disclosing the secret purpose of James to revoke all his concessions when his danger was past. This charge is made in most printed accounts of the Revolution, whether of the highest or the meanest pretension. The only averred fact in evidence is the sudden recall of the Bishop of Winchester to court, while executing his commission as visitor of the college. But there is not a particle of proof to show the relation of cause and effect between the supposed disaster of the Dutch fleet and the summons to the bishop; the chief evidence on the whole matter is

^a D'Avaux to the King, 27th Sept. 1688. Fox MSS.

^b Lett. de Guil. III. au Comte de Portland, 16th Sept. 1688.

contained in a vulgar preface to a vulgar party sermon, preached on St. Bartholomew's day, 1713,^a and the supposition is incompatible with the dates.^b

The Prince of Orange, upon the return of Herbert, resolved to embark the invading armament, and sail for England. A manifesto or declaration was an indispensable preliminary. A draft, concerted by the Prince's Dutch confidants, and translated by Burnet, failed to give satisfaction. Major Wildman, a republican of the commonwealth, who had been proscribed alike by Cromwell and the Stuarts, was its chief opponent. He condemned the stress laid on the dispensing power, which had been practised by the kings of England for ages, and on the prosecution of the bishops, who had been legally tried, acquitted, and discharged: he proposed a rival manifesto written by himself, in which he carried the review of tyrannical grievance far back into the reign of Charles II.; and "laid down," says Burnet, "a scheme of the government of England." Wildman spoke and wrote with contagious fervour, and the facility of an expert demagogue. He was supported by a party among his countrymen at the Hague. His design, according to the Bishop, was "deep and spiteful: it was to sow discord between the English Church party and the Prince."

Whatever were Wildman's character and design, his views appear to have been just and comprehensive. He rested the cause upon its true basis,—a reform of the political government, not the petty warfare of parties and sects; and, according to Burnet himself, he was supported by Lords Mordaunt and Macclesfield. But the reign of Charles would have brought embarrassing reminiscences to the church party. The bishops and clergy had preached passive obedience, and had sanctified orthodox atrocities during a pious reign, in which they enjoyed a monopoly of wealth, favour, power, and persecution. James invaded their exclusive privilege: he was guilty of the double sin of popery and toleration; and his tyranny to the nation could no longer be endured by the Church.

Lord Shrewsbury, Colonel Sidney, and Admiral Russel, objected, on the ground, that the mention of the last reign would disgust many lords and gentlemen. A schism among the Prince's English followers was prevented only by a mutual compromise of

^a Cited in Kennet.

^b The letter of recall was dated the 19th, and the Dutch fleet was driven back by stress of weather on the 31st of October.

omissions and alterations, and the declaration thus amended was put forth.

The manifesto of the Prince of Orange is too accessible and trite to be introduced here.^a There were, however, two pledges, which should not be passed over; one to call a legal and free parliament for the redress of grievances, the other to refer to that parliament the question of the birth of "the pretended Prince of Wales." The Prince of Orange fulfilled the first pledge,—the most important in his declaration,—but seemed to have wholly forgotten the second. His oblivion should not be censured, or but slightly. It may be a question, whether policy warranted the useful calumny upon the birth of the Prince of Wales; but William would have acted with the weakness of James, not with his own prudence, had he wasted the time of the parliament, the nation, and his own, in a vain and mischievous endeavour to disprove a truth so conclusively established.

There was in the Prince's declaration no specific disclaimer of a design upon the crown. It would seem as if he would not condescend to deny a supposition so unjust; and the disavowal is conveyed by implication as clearly as it could have been expressed. But an express and solemn denial was given by the States. On the motion of Dyckvelt,^b they instructed their ministers at the several foreign courts to declare, "that the Prince of Orange had not the least intention to invade or conquer the kingdom of England, or remove the King from his throne, much less to attempt seizing it himself, or prejudice the lawful succession."^c The Prince assured the Emperor, in a letter written shortly before he sailed, that whatever reports may have been or might be circulated to the contrary, he had not the least intention to injure the King, or those who had the right of succession, and still less to make any attempt upon the crown, or wish to appropriate it to himself.^d He thus pledged himself to respect the rights, not only of James, but of his son.

The Emperor Leopold was a weak politician, but a bigoted

^a It will be found in the Appendix.

^b Secret Delib. of the States. MSS. 25th Oct. 1688.

^c Neville, cited in Ralph, Hist. of Eng.

^d "J'ai voulu, Sire, assurer par cette lettre votre Majesté impériale, que quelques bruits que l'on puisse avoir déjà semés, et nonobstant ceux que l'on pourra faire courir à l'avenir, je n'ay pas la moindre intention de faire aucun tort à sa Majesté Britannique, ni à ceux qui ont droit de prétendre à la succession de ses royaumes, et encore moins d'empêcher moi-même sur la couronne, ou de vouloir me l'approprier."—Dal. App. p. 255.

devotee to the Catholic faith, and indefeasible right of kings. Barrillon was apprised of William's assurance to the Emperor, respecting the rights of the son of James, and doubtless took care that the declaration of the Prince of Orange, which bastardised the child, should reach him.* There are no extant means of knowing how the Prince succeeded in getting over his flagrant violation of his pledged word. It may, perhaps, be said, that the Prince of Orange spoke only of those who had a right to the succession, which in his sense would not apply to the pretended Prince of Wales. But writing to the Emperor, there can be no doubt of the meaning which he would convey; and so paltry an equivocation would be more unworthy of the Prince than direct falsehood. The fact probably was, that William exhibited his designs without scruple, in whatever light he judged most politic and favourable, according to the position and ideas of those whom he addressed.

A letter was published in the Prince's name, inviting the officers and men of the British army to his standard, and calling upon them to prefer their religion to false notions of honour and fidelity. Admiral Herbert addressed a similar invitation to the British fleet. He was the most unpopular officer in the navy: his opposition to the court sprang from sordid disappointments; and the motives for desertion which he held out to the commanders and seamen were in accord with his example and his character. He told them, they were placed between infamy and ruin, if they did not come over to the Prince,—infamy if the Prince failed, ruin if he succeeded; and if they did not hasten, their brethren of the army would anticipate them.

The hackneyed pen of Burnet was employed to reconcile the invasion to the subject's duty of allegiance to the sovereign. Non-resistance to the King was, he admitted, "the constant doctrine of the Church of England; but all general words, however large," he adds, "have a tacit exception and reserve in them, if the matter require it." The extent of obedience to the supreme authority is reducible to either of two adverse principles,—that of implicit and absolute non-resistance, held by those who believe in the divine right of kings,—that of resistance, reform, and revolution, held by those who assert a mutual compact between the sovereign on the one side, and the community from which he derives his power.

* Bar. to the King. Fox MSS.

and existence on the other. Both principles have produced generous virtues and great actions; and both parties, whilst they oppose, may respect each other. But this trimming Whig churchman profits by the one without the honesty to disavow the other; and envelops himself in a flimsy maxim, which might be taken up by any knave or villain who violated the ordinances of God and man.

Meanwhile, news of the King's concessions and reparations came to the Hague. The Prince took no further notice of them than issuing a supplementary declaration, in which he said, in substance, that the Protestant religion and liberties of England could be secured only by himself. D'Albyville continued at his post in spite of rebuffs and scoffs on every side. "Now," said he, to Sidney, "that the King has come to a settlement with his subjects, what can you want with him in England?" Sidney replied, "We will tell him when we are there!"^a

The Prince of Orange had made every preparation, and taken every precaution for his momentous undertaking, when a second schism arose upon the mode of executing it. Wildman and his party would have the fleet sent out once more to clear the sea for the invading armament, by the defeat or defection of the English navy. The extreme value of time at a season when the transports were liable to be ice-bound in port; the uncertainty of a meeting between the two fleets if either were indisposed; the impossibility of keeping troops and horses long on board, were urged on the other side, and prevailed chiefly through the firmness and authority of the Prince. The embarkation took place with remarkable secrecy and despatch. A transport fleet of 500 vessels was hired in three days; and the troops, which had been marched from the plains of Nimeguen, were put on board in the Zuyderzee. It was ten days before they could sail out of the Texel. On the 20th of October the wind changed from west to east, and orders were despatched instantly to Hoelvoetsluys.

The Prince of Orange presented himself in a general assembly of the States to take his leave. He thanked them for their kindness, called God to witness that in serving them he had no end before his eyes but the good of his country, that he went to England with no other intentions than those he had set forth in his declara-

^a D'Avaux to the King, Oct. 15. 1688. Fox MSS.

tion; and, committing himself to Providence, earnestly recommended to their care the Princess his wife, who, he said, loved their country equally with her own. "It was," says Burnet, "a sad but a kind parting. Some of every province offered at an answer to what the Prince had said, but they all melted into tears and passion. . . . only the Prince himself continued firm in his gravity and phlegm." The compiler of the life of King James says, that the Prince told the States in this parting speech "he would die their servant, or live their friend;" and most of the historians and biographers of William have described him as the first to shed tears. The situation was calculated to excite emotion. The Prince of Orange must have loved a country which he had served and saved, though he hated the republic; and the speakers may well have "melted into tears and passion," though many present, and those the truest lovers of their country and its freedom, would have preferred his destruction to his return. William must have had a soul of iron if, as Burnet states, he remained alone unmoved.

The Prince of Orange proceeded immediately from the Hague to Helvoetsluys. He was detained three days on board before he weighed anchor. The whole fleet, consisting of fifty-two men of war, twenty-five frigates, twenty-five fire ships, and near 400 transports, was afloat on the night of the 19th. Admiral Herbert commanded the first line. The Prince commanded the main force in the centre, with the colours of England at his top-mast, inscribed with "The Protestant religion and liberties of England," and underneath the motto of the House of Nassau, "*Je maintiendray*." The Dutch vice-admiral Evertzen commanded the rear. The wind changed to the north-west next day, and the night brought with it a tremendous storm. After struggling in vain for twenty-four hours, signals were made to return to port. The greater number of vessels had got back by the 22d, but several beat the sea for some days. Yet not a single ship was lost, and only one man perished, by being blown from the shrouds. The only serious loss was that of horses, from the want of air. Bishop Burnet mentions, indeed, that many vessels were exceedingly shattered, and proves this by a fact, which militates violently against the laws both of navigation and of nature. "Some ships," he says, "were so shattered, that as soon as they came in, and all was taken out of them, they immediately sunk down." Both parties, on this occasion, claimed respectively in their favour the special agency of Divine

Providence: the friends of James for the wreck of the Dutch fleet, the friends of the Prince for their escape and safety. But the above phenomenon, attested by the Bishop, appears the only manifestation of the supernatural.

This incident made no impression on the Prince of Orange and the States. They magnified the disaster in the Dutch gazettes to the loss of nine men of war, and several smaller craft foundered; a thousand horses thrown overboard, and Dr. Burnet drowned.* The object was to delude James into a revocation of his concessions or neglect of his defence. The King did neither. He employed the time thus gained by him in recruiting the old and completing the new regiments, and in making further dispositions against the invader. An Englishman, named Langham, who had served in the Dutch army, was detected in London circulating the declaration of the Prince of Orange. He was arrested, and indicted for high treason. The crown lawyers did not venture to set forth the contents of so dangerous a document; and the grand jury, in default of evidence, ignored the bill. The utmost severity of the law was denounced, by proclamation, against all persons, of whatever quality or degree, who should publish, disperse, repeat, hand about, or presume to read, receive, or conceal any of the treasonable papers contrived by the Prince of Orange and his adherents to seduce the people and the army.

The Prince had proclaimed in his declaration, that he was invited over by several lords, both spiritual and temporal. This startling assertion determined the King to search the faith of the Bishops. No signal or decisive result followed; and the matter may appear of transient interest. But it is in reality one of the great lights by which to judge the spirit and genius of the Church as a formidable power existing for itself; by the side of the constitution, between the nation and the crown. There are several versions of what passed at the interviews between the Bishops and the King. The "apology," professing to emanate from the prelates themselves, coincides in almost all points with the recent version given by Archdeacon D'Oyley, in his *Life of Sancroft*, and both, together, constitute the most copious and authoritative source of reference.

On the 16th of October, the King commanded the attendance of

* *Life of William*. MS. Mem. of K. James, cited in *Life*, vol. ii. p. 205.

the Archbishop, informed him of the designed invasion; and said, that the Bishops owed it to his service and their own characters to publish "an abhorrence" of the designs of the Prince of Orange. The word "abhorrence," it should be remembered, was an ordinary and technical term of episcopal compliance during the late reign. The Archbishop replied, that his brethren had for the most part retired to their respective dioceses, supposing their attendance at court no longer necessary. The King said there were several prelates still in London. This remark was rather evaded than met by Sancroft, with many arguments to prove so great a prince incapable of such a design, and the proposed abhorrence consequently superfluous. The Archbishop took his leave, and James proceeded no farther in the matter until the 31st of October. On that day, he sent for Compton, Bishop of London. That prelate was, or pretended to be, out of town when the summons came. He presented himself next morning. The King, having read to him the obnoxious passage, asked whether the assertion was true. Compton answered with an equivocation. "Sir," said he, "I am confident the rest of the bishops will as readily answer in the negative as myself." The prelate who gave this answer had incurred the penalties of high treason several months before, by subscribing the invitation to the Prince. The King said he believed them all innocent, but persisted in demanding the customary abhorrence. Compton obtained time for consideration, and retired. Sancroft received orders to attend the King next day (November 2), with such of his brethren as were in or near London. At this third meeting there were present the Archbishop, and the Bishops of London, Peterborough, Rochester, Durham, Chester, and St. David's. The King produced the Prince's declaration, told the prelates there was in it a passage which concerned them, ordered the passage to be read by Lord Preston, Secretary of State, repeated his belief of their innocence, and intimated that it was incumbent on them to put forth a disavowal. The Archbishop protested his own innocence, and his conviction that all his brethren were equally guiltless. The King next questioned the Bishop of London. He replied that he had given his answer the day before. The Bishop of Durham said, "I am sure I am none of them." "Nor I," repeated the others, who had not yet spoken. The King

dismissed them with an order, that they should hold a meeting of such bishops as were within reach, draw up a vindication of themselves, and bring or send it next day. A meeting accordingly took place; and the Archbishop, with the Bishops of London, Rochester, and Peterborough, came to Whitehall on the 6th of November. Watson, of St. David's, was waiting to join them in their audience of the King. They declined his company, and obtained his exclusion.

The King, meanwhile, had manifested impatience. After mutual protestations of innocence on the one part, and confidence on the other, he asked, "But where is the paper I desired you to draw up and bring me?" The Archbishop replied, "Sir, we have brought no paper, nor, with submission, do we think it necessary or proper for us to do so. Since your Majesty is pleased to say you think us guiltless, we despise what all the world besides shall say." "But," said the King, "I expected a paper from you; I take it you promised me one." A long dialogue, or rather debate, ensued. Sancroft has recorded, with a frankness somewhat surprising, the disingenuous artifices of dispute employed on his own side, and the prompt vigour with which he and his brethren were pressed by the King.* The Bishops began by seeking refuge in a denial of the authenticity of the paper. "We assure your Majesty," said they, "that scarce one in five hundred believes it to be the Prince's true declaration." "Then," said the King vehemently, "that five hundred would bring in the Prince of Orange upon my throat." "God forbid," responded their lordships. The Archbishop repeated, that so great a prince would not proclaim a manifest falsehood. "What!" said the King; "he that can do as he does, think you he will stick at a lie?" "Truly, Sir," said the Bishops, "this is a business of state, which does not properly belong to us." The Archbishop followed up this sarcasm, in a tone of sneering evasion, by referring to the imprisonment of the seven Bishops, for touching on matters of state. "This, my Lord," said the King, "is a *querelle d'Allemand*, quite out of the way." Lord Preston was referred to for his recollection of what passed respecting a written paper at the last interview between the Bishops and the King. He said in substance, that the Archbishop

* See D'Oyley's Life of Sancroft, vol. i. p. 362, &c.

and Bishop of London were to present such a paper to the King before its publication,—if they should agree upon it.* The King still pressed, and the Bishops as pertinaciously evaded or denied his reasonings and his requests. At last it was suggested by them that he might publish their verbal disavowal. “No,” said the King, “if I should publish it, the people would not believe me.” Sir,” replied the Bishops, “the word of a king is sacred, and it ought to be believed on its own authority. It would be presumptuous in us to pretend to strengthen it, and the people cannot but believe your Majesty in this matter.” The King’s answer was conclusive. “They,” said he, “that could believe me guilty of a false son, what will they not believe of me?” The Prelates, in conclusion, said, that as bishops they could assist the King only with their prayers, but as peers they were ready to serve him in a parliament, or assembled in common with such peers temporal as were in London or its neighbourhood. Whether the King expressed any satisfaction with their proffered aid of prayer does not appear, but he rejected their services as peers; and the conference terminated.

Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, whose participation in the ecclesiastical commission was odious, whose retreat from it was despicable, and whose late zeal failed to redeem his character, has given an account of this transaction different from the foregoing in some important particulars. The Bishops, he says, urged that the whole matter should be referred to a free parliament; the King was incensed against them; Lord Preston reproached them; the Bishops of Chester and St. David’s, who appeared to assist as mere spectators, were, at the request of the Archbishop, ordered by the King to withdraw: the Archbishop then said, “It was contrary to their peerage and profession to promote a war against a prince so nearly allied to the crown,” but they would give a verbal disavowal, which might be printed: the King continued to demand it under their hands, the Bishops continued to evade or refuse, and “his Majesty left them abruptly, telling them he would trust to his army.”

The allusion of the Archbishop, if he made it, to the relation of the Prince of Orange to the crown, was inconsiderate. That violence which would have been but simply criminal in another, was parricidal in a son. Sprat laboured systematically to give the church the chief credit of the Revolution, by way of meriting pardon

* A disavowal in the handwriting of Sancroft has been found among his papers. D’Oyley’s *Life of Sancroft*, vol. i. p. 376.

from his brother Bishops. His discretion did not always keep pace with his zeal. Contrasting, on this subject, the conduct of the Bishops in England who refused, and those in Scotland who gave the King, if not a declaration of abhorrence, yet an imprecation of "shame" upon the Prince of Orange, he says, that "as the Bishops in England, by refusing to stand by the doctrine of passive obedience, saved episcopacy in England, so the Scottish Bishops, by adhering to that doctrine, destroyed episcopacy in Scotland." It would appear, then, that passive obedience should be adhered to or renounced, as it might happen to be adverse or favourable to the preservation of episcopacy.

The compiler of the Life from the MS. Memoirs of King James says, that his Majesty sent for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London, Winchester, and two or three more, and asked them whether they had invited the Prince of Orange. The Bishops, he says, were puzzled what to answer, but said at last that they would never own any other King while his Majesty lived: the King pressed them to sign an unequivocal abhorrence of the Prince's invasion; but they demurred. It is deeply to be regretted that the compiler, or the successive compilers, of the Life did not make more frequent and copious extracts from the text of the King. There is, in the passages cited from his Memoirs, a tone of simplicity and moderation which commands implicit confidence; and they are valuable for that method and diligence which formed the better part of the character of James at the better period of his life.

"The King," says James, in one of the passages cited by the compiler, "reminded them of their memorable petition, and of his having then told them, that, at the instigation of those who designed his and their ruin, they had raised a devil which they could not lay, and when too late would repent their error." To convince them that "some of them had done it maliciously, he assured them that he kept the paper in his pocket, and yet copies of it were spread about, which raised so furious a ferment against him." He bade them take notice how his predictions had come to pass, and urged upon them that the least duty they owed to the Church, of which they professed themselves true sons, to the service of their sovereign, and "as some amends for the harm they had done him by their petition, and their behaviour after it," was to declare their dislike of the invasion, and show their loyalty both in the pulpits and out of them. He was going, he said, to head his army against the in-

vader, and assured them that, if it pleased God to give him success and victory over his enemies, he would keep his promise, "and though he had little reason to be satisfied with many of them, yet it should not hinder him from standing to the engagement he had always made, of supporting them in the enjoyment of their religion and possessions. . . . But," continues James, "notwithstanding all the King could say, and all he had done to give them satisfaction, he could not prevail with the Archbishop, nor the majority of them, to declare their dislike of the invasion, though the Bishop of Winchester, and some others, were for doing it."

Some writers have thought it strange that James should not accept the compromise of a verbal disavowal, to be published by himself. Neither the compiler nor the King himself, in the passages cited from his Memoirs, alludes to any offer of a verbal expression of dislike. The only concession mentioned as coming from the Bishops is the declaration that "they would never own any other king while his Majesty lived." This expression is ascribed only to the Archbishop, by the apologist and by Sancroft himself. That prelate kept his word. He wanted superior intelligence and force of character; but he redeemed previous weaknesses by descending from the throne of Canterbury, with his principles and conscience, to poverty and obscurity. Supposing, however, the verbal disavowal offered, the King acted prudently in rejecting it. It would be asked by the ignorant public, and by the better informed enemies of James, why the disavowal, if authentic, was not put forth by the Bishops themselves. The answer would be, that this was another pious or Popish fraud; and a new wreath would be added to the crown of martyrdom of the Bishops, who, after having, it would be said, suffered in their persons, now suffered, with the same Christian meekness, the sacrifice of their reputations.

But why did those pious persons refuse to pronounce upon the enterprise of the Prince of Orange under their hands the sentence of condemnation which they pronounced upon it with their lips? Were it a question of purely temporal interests, and the parties laymen, an answer would readily suggest itself. It would be said; that the verbal disavowal was offered, because it might be pleaded as a merit to James if he maintained himself on the throne, and might be repudiated as a calumny if fortune declared in favour of the Prince.

There is one important point upon which the King and the

Bishops are at issue. Their famous petition was circulated by copies almost immediately after its presentation to the King. The Bishops denied that the publication had emanated from them. But the King says, "he kept the paper in his pocket." The contents, then, could not have got abroad through the indiscretion or treachery of his counsellors. The testimony of the unfortunate James merits consideration, even against that of seven bishops. One observation can hardly fail to suggest itself. It would be easy to imagine motives which the prelates may have had for circulating the paper; but the King, without one conceivable motive for its circulation, had the strongest reasons for concealing and suppressing it.

It was urged by the Bishops upon the King, that the temporal peers were equally implicated with themselves, and should be subjected to the same scrutiny. Up to the recent publication of the "Life of King James," the Bishops only were supposed to have been put to the test. The compiler of the Life states that the King summoned, among others, Lords Halifax, Nottingham, Abingdon, Clarendon, and Burlington, and received from them a disclaimer, with all imaginable protestations of loyalty.^a This statement is borne out by the Dutch ambassador.^b He names the above Lords, with the addition of Lord Weymouth, but says, 'that after giving the required disclaimer, they merely expressed, in general terms, their regret at seeing the King's affairs in so awkward a position. The King, according to his biographer, began with the lords temporal; according to Van Citters, with the lords spiritual.

William, meanwhile, lay at Helvoetsluys, repairing the damage suffered by his fleet. When all was repaired, his expedition was doomed to a new mishap.

For some weeks it had blown a continual gale. The Dutch men of war rode out at sea. On the 27th of October, the fleet was exposed to a storm during six hours. "There were few among us," says Burnet, "that did not conclude that the best part of the fleet, and consequently the whole design, was lost." The gallant Bishop deals imputations of cowardice upon those around him. "Wildman," he says, "plainly had a show of courage, but was at least then a coward;"^c and the contagion of his cowardice seized "many who were willing to hearken to any proposition that set danger at a distance from themselves."^d Again, in speaking of

^a Life of K. James, vol. ii. p. 210.

^b MS. Letter of Van Citters, 16 Nov. 1688.

^c Burnet, vol. iii. p. 324.

^d Id. *Ibid.*

the six hours' storm, he says,—“Many that have passed for heroes, yet showed then the agonies of fear in their looks and whole deportment: the Prince still retained his usual calmness, and the same tranquillity of spirit that I had observed in him in his happiest days.” This observer of the Prince must have had, of course, an equal tranquillity of spirit. There was, however, no reason why either should have lost courage. On the 28th it calmed, and the fleet came in, with the loss only of the rudder of one third-rate. It is quite clear, that if the Bishop retained his courage, he greatly magnified the danger.

The propitious, or, as it was called in England, the Protestant East wind, came at last; and, on the 1st of November (old style), the Prince of Orange sailed out, a second time, from Helvoetsluys with an evening tide. Lord Dartmouth, meanwhile, had arrived from the Nore off Harwich, full of confidence, with the English fleet. “Sir,” said he, writing to the King on the 24th,^a “we are now at sea before the Dutch, with all their boasting; and I must confess I cannot see much sense in their attempt.” On the 30th he writes, that he was under sail, with the ebb tide; hoped to get clear of the Galloper before night; had his scouts out; believed it impossible to miss the Dutch fleet; and hoped by the following day to give a good account of them.

On Saturday, the 3d of November, his scouts discovered, at break of day, thirteen sail of the Dutch fleet; and he sent out three frigates, which captured only a fly-boat without her rudder, having on board four companies of English troops. He had, he said, made ready to sail with his fleet on Saturday; “*but the sea came so heavy, and the tide fell so cross,*” that he was unable to sail until the following morning. This delay of Lord Dartmouth, which he imputes to the wind and tide, but which others have variously ascribed to weakness, incapacity, the treachery of his officers, and his own, proved decisive of the fortunes of the Prince of Orange and King James. The unfortunate commander was sensible of its importance. He sums up his difficulties and disappointments by these words to the King: — “Thus I have given your Majesty a true account of all my proceedings, which are so far from the vain hopes I had, that I take myself for the most unfortunate man living; though I know your Majesty is too just to expect more than wind

^a Lett. of Lord Dartm. to the King. Dal. App.

^b Id. Ibid. p. 322.

and weather will permit." ^a Finding, he says, that the Dutch sailed by Dover on Saturday, had a fresh gale that night, and a fair wind next day, he despairs of coming up to them before a landing was effected; declines, with the unanimous advice of the flag officers, the hazard of attacking a fleet superior to his own, with the advantage of being discharged of its convoy; "is at a stand what to do," and waits his Majesty's further pleasure.

Lord Dartmouth should not be rashly condemned. He had a reputation for professional services and personal honour; and he died, two years after, a Jacobite prisoner in the Tower. He has been both acquitted and condemned by James. The King, replying to his mournful despatch of the 5th, in a letter dated the 9th of November, says,—“I am fully satisfied that you did all that you could, and that nobody could work otherwise than you did. I am sure all knowing seamen must be of the same mind, and therefore be at ease as to yourself.” But in his MS. Memoirs, referring to this period, he says,—“What reason my Lord Dartmouth had not to do the same (that is, give chase with his fleet, as his scouts did), is yet a mystery; and the King, who till then had a good opinion of him, would not censure him till he heard what he could say in his own justification. But never seeing him more, that could not be done. Only, in general, it was pretended he was not able to get about the long sandshead, as the wind and tide stood. On the other side, several of the commanders affirmed he might have done it, which if he had, and the other captains been true to him (which then it is believed they would),^b he might have ruined their formidable fleet, or at least have hindered their landing, and broke the whole enterprise.” The King, when he wrote this passage, appears to have forgotten his letter. The only material fact stated by him, is the opinion of several commanders, that the Admiral might successfully have given chase.^c But these commanders may have been mistaken, or the King misinformed. It would also scarcely be reasonable to expect justice in James's

^a Lett. of Lord Dartm. to the King. Dal. App.

^b Lord Dartmouth himself seems to have thought so. Writing so late as the 5th of November, he says,—“Every body, I assure you, Sir, I *think* is so exasperated at the Prince of Orange's proceedings, that I am *once more* confident they will venture their lives very heartily in your Majesty's service.” It is clear, from Lord Torrington's account before cited, that Lord Dartmouth deceived either himself or the King. The words “*once more*” would imply that he had previously expressed distrusts.

^c Sir W. Booth told me Lord Dartmouth certainly connived at the passing of the Dutch fleet. Halifax MS.

after-judgment of a failure which had its share in depriving him of three kingdoms.

Lord Dartmouth was surrounded by disaffected officers. The numerical majority was faithful, but the most considerable were in the interest of the Prince of Orange, and caballed on board.^a The impossibility of his giving chase on the 3d, with a contrary wind and lee tide, is asserted by Lord Torrington, one of the disaffected officers,^b who further states, that when the fleet sailed after the Dutch next day, there was a meeting of the captains inclined to the Prince, of whom some declared, that if Lord Dartmouth attacked the Dutch, they were "bound in honour to do their duty, but eventually it was agreed to desert him."^c The Duke of Grafton, piqued by the appointment of Lord Dartmouth in preference to himself, went down to the fleet before the Prince of Orange had yet sailed, and not only gained over several of the commanders,^d but attempted to inveigle the Admiral, under pretence of an invitation to dinner, on board the ship of Captain Hastings, in order there to seize his person, and assume the command of the fleet.^e Lord Dartmouth was apprised of the design, declined the invitation, and did not venture to institute an enquiry. His mind and energy were further distracted between his fidelity as a subject and his conscience as a Protestant.

Lord Torrington^f states, that in a council of war called by Lord Dartmouth off Harwich, it was proposed by the officers in the interest of the Prince, that they should stand over to the Dutch coast, and wait the coming out of the Dutch fleet, but that this proposition was over-ruled by the majority still faithful to James. It appears from a letter of Lord Dartmouth, that he was cautioned against such a course by the King himself. "Upon the caution your Majesty has given me," says he, "I will not venture over on the coast of Holland without I see settled fair weather, which is not impossible after so much bad."^g Judging by the uniform practice of the British navy in more recent wars of defence, the course thus advised by the one party and rejected by the other, would have been the most adverse to the former, and the wisest for the latter. The science of maritime war and seamanship has,

^a MS. Mem. of Byng, Lord Torrington, in Dal. App.

^b Id. *ibid.*

^c MS. Mem. of K. James, cited in Life, &c. vol. ii. p. 208.

^d MS. Mem. of Byng, Lord Torrington, *ibid.* MS. Mem. of K. James, Life, vol. ii. p. 208.

^e Dal. App.

^f *Ibid.*

^g Dal. App. p. 321.

it is true, been since advanced, but the essential want was that of naval enterprise. Had a Blake or a Ruyter been in the place of a Strickland and a Dartmouth, the Dutch fleet would not have come out of Helvoetsluys, and passed the Straits of Dover, without a battle.

Lords Lumley and Danby had undertaken to head an insurrection in favour of the Prince of Orange, if he landed in the North. The Prince accordingly steered northward the first day and night; but finding the wind veering to the west, or being informed that the King had a sufficient force to oppose him in the North, he changed his course, and sailed down mid-channel between Calais and Dover, on Saturday, the 3d of November, about noon. The spectacle was magnificent.^a The opposite shores of France and England were lined with multitudes of spectators, who gazed with strong and opposite emotions, for several hours, upon the vast armament moving in a line twenty miles in extent, and charged with the rival fortunes of princes, religions, and nations. The fleet was in sight of the Isle of Wight by the evening. The Prince of Orange wished to land next day, which would be the anniversary of his birth and marriage; but his friends preferred landing under the auspices of Guy Fawkes and the gunpowder treason, the next day but one.^b Torbay was judged the best harbour for so large a fleet. The pilot who steered in the van, had orders to sail short of Dartmouth during the night. He misreckoned, and found himself in the morning beyond it. The wind still blew east, and it seemed necessary to sail on to Plymouth, the Governor of which, Lord Bath, had given the Prince but vague assurances. This error of the pilot, according to Burnet, who was in the van ship of the fleet, was regarded as such a disaster, that Admiral Russell, who came on board in disorder, bade the Doctor "go to his prayers, for all was lost." But on a sudden, to the wonder of all present, it calmed a little; the wind then veered to the south; and, after four hours' sail, the whole fleet got safe into Torbay. The Prince immediately landed with Marshal Schomberg; they obtained the best horses they could in the next village, and viewed the ground. Bishop Burnet made, he says, what haste he could to join the Prince, who took him heartily by the hand, and asked him what he then thought of predestination.

^a Rapin (who was on board).

^b Burnet, vol. iii. p. 326.

The fears of Admiral Russel from the error of the pilot, and the excitement with which the Prince of Orange referred to the doctrine of predestination, as if he had just escaped some extreme hazard, bear strong internal evidence of, at least, exaggeration. There is a 'key to the latter, which may be applied also to the former. "Dr. Burnet," says a historian of the period,^a "who understood but little of military affairs, asked the Prince of Orange which way he intended to march, and when, and desired to be employed by him in whatever service he should think fit. The Prince only asked him what he thought of predestination, and advised him, if he had a mind to be busy, to consult the Canons." If this be true, both the Prince and Russel amused themselves by playing upon the fears, ignorance, and conceit of Burnet.

The news of the Prince's landing was brought by an officer of the Swallow frigate, which followed in sight of the Dutch fleet. The captain (Aylmer) was one of those engaged to the Prince of Orange; but the officer by whom he sent the news rode with such expedition, that before he had given his whole account he fell exhausted at the King's feet. James was already aware of the passage of the Dutch fleet between Dover and Calais, and had detached troops, under the command of the Duke of Berwick, to secure Portsmouth.^b But he still hoped that, before the Prince landed, Lord Dartmouth would have fought the Dutch. The landing at Torbay without impediment excited consternation at court. The King called an extraordinary council: a proclamation was immediately issued against the Prince of Orange, denouncing him as an unchristian and unnatural invader, who came with an army of foreigners and rebels; denied the birth of the Prince of Wales, in order to usurp the crown; already commanded the attendance of the lords spiritual and temporal in the royal style; and affected to demand a free parliament, to which his own presence was the only obstacle. It concluded with repeating and confirming all the King's promises of redress, and appealing to the loyalty and zeal of his subjects.

The manifestos of the Prince of Orange could no longer be suppressed. His declaration was accordingly published by the King, with a preface, a running commentary on the text, and a subjoined reply, entitled "*Animadversions*." The Prince's declaration, as it

^a See Cunningham's *Hist. of Eng.* vol. i. p. 88., and note in *Bur.* vol. iii. p. 328.
^b MS. Mem. cited in *Life*, etc. vol. ii. 209.

came from the hands of Fagel, is described by Bishop Burnet as long and dull. In passing through the hands of the Bishop, it may, as he says, have been reduced in length, but it seems to have preserved its dulness. The King's advocates, especially the author of the "Animadversions," supposed to be Stuart, have the superiority in argument. The Prince employed pretences as well as the King. Ambition could, no more than tyranny, dispense with the mask. There was a rejoinder on the part of the Prince. To give the spirit of this paper war would demand space far exceeding its present importance. One sentence from the last pleading on behalf of William may be worth reference and remembrance. The defender of the Prince treats the imputation of his aspiring to the crown as a grievous calumny.

The King appeared to rally his energies. Finding that the Prince had reached Torbay, he ordered the chief strength of the garrison of Portsmouth to proceed to Salisbury. He selected Salisbury Plain as his chief place of rendezvous. Lord Feversham commanded in chief here until the King should arrive to lead his army in person. Colonels Fenwick and Lanier occupied Marlborough and Warminster with each a body of cavalry. James's design was to march still further westward, for the purpose of preventing risings in favour of the Prince of Orange, until the troops on their way from the North; the Scotch cavalry, not yet arrived; the Irish dragoons just arrived, but so fatigued as to demand rest; and the train of artillery; should have come up.^a Measures were taken to prevent the troops on their march from committing any wrong upon the people. It was publicly notified by beat of drum, in every town where they halted, that they were to pay for what they were supplied with; and that, upon complaint made by the civil authority, due satisfaction would be given by the commanding officer. There appears, in James's preparatory measures, no want of prudence or resolution. His confidence was such, that upon some suggestion of negotiating with the Prince, he declared in council that he should regard as his enemy any one who advised him to treat with the invader of his kingdom.^b He proclaimed in the Gazette a detailed statement of the invading force, both naval and military. It has been charged upon him, that he endeavoured to delude the people and himself, by representing the army of the

^a MS. Mem. cited in Life, etc. vol. ii. 209.

^b Kennet.

Prince of Orange as contemptible.^a But his representation agrees fairly enough with the vote of the States ;^b and contemptible it certainly would be, against a man of courage and capacity who possessed the throne, the capital,—the whole kingdom, except an undefended town near the coast, which might be occupied momentarily by a pirate—and a regular army of 32,000 men.

Meanwhile the progress of the Prince of Orange was far from encouraging. He landed with facility, but his march of only twenty miles from Torbay to Exeter took two days of hardship and privation. Burnet, whose account of the expedition is the great staple of most succeeding narratives, says nothing of this. He seems to have thought only of the "immediate hand of Heaven," which had conducted them from Helvoetsluys to Torbay, and the Doctor doubtless enjoyed his comforts on the march. But Rapin, one of the Huguenot officers who accompanied the Prince, describes what he suffered: the drenching rain, the roads ankle deep, the officers without a change of clothes, without horses, without bread, without beds, except the bare earth in heavy November rains, the men scarcely recovered from the effects of the sea, carrying three days' provision and their tents. The Prince did all he could to supply the wants of his troops, by laying the surrounding country under contribution for horses, carriages, and provisions. It would appear that he levied very unscrupulously, and in some instances carried away what arms he could find.^c He was coldly received. The people stood aloof, and the authorities, both temporal and spiritual, either made a show of resistance, or fled from the perilous contagion. An officer named Hicks, whom he had sent forward to Exeter, with a commission to announce his arrival, was apprehended by a warrant from the mayor. Lord Mordaunt and Doctor Burnet came next, with a few troops of horse. The gates were closed against them on their approach, but opened upon Lord Mordaunt's summons on pain of death. It was an open town, and had not a single soldier. The mayor would neither acknowledge nor hold communication with the Prince of Orange. This took place on the third day after the landing. The Prince himself made his entry next morning, and was no better received than his representatives. The Bishop and Dean, says Burnet, "ran away;" and the clergy, according to the same historian, had been so long preaching passive

^a Rapin.
Coll. Stat. Papers, etc.

^b Secret Delib. of the States-General, MS.

obedience and non-resistance, that "they were ashamed to make so quick a turn." The bishop, Doctor Lamplugh, proceeded directly to court, to pay his duty, he said, to the King, and receive his Majesty's further commands; "which prudence or timorousness," says Kennet, "the King took for loyalty, and immediately gave him the archbishopric of York." Such is the Christian charity with which Bishops Burnet and Kennet judge the actions of their spiritual brother. But divines are the most competent to penetrate the motives of each other; and the two Bishops, in this instance, should, perhaps, be commended for their frankness, not censured for their want of charity.

On Sunday, the 11th, when the Prince had been in Exeter two days, Dr. Burnet proceeded to the cathedral, took possession of the vacant pulpit, preached a long sermon upon the last verse of the 107th Psalm, to show that the Prince had on his side "the loving-kindness of the Lord;" and proceeded to read his Highness's declaration. No sooner had he commenced it, than the canons, the choristers, and the greater part of the congregation, withdrew. The Doctor, however, proceeded, and having reached the close, cried "God save the Prince of Orange!" The major part of the congregation, says Kennet, answered, "Amen, amen." He should have said, the major part of what remained. There are some discrepancies in the various accounts respecting the attendance of the canons, and the day on which the declaration was read. Rapin, who was present with the army, if not in the church, asserts the presence of the canons, and assigns the reading of the declaration to Sunday. The whole cathedral scene is suppressed, with signal bad faith, by the chief performer, Bishop Burnet. Without stopping to question the decency of such a cry by a clergyman on Sunday, from the pulpit of a cathedral, it may be observed, that the same "little Scotch parson,"* who had already twice settled the succession to the three kingdoms, of his own head, now pronounced sentence of deposition upon King James by substituting the cry of "God save the Prince of Orange!" for that of "God save the King!" Shakspeare has represented such a scene by anticipation; but he assigns the part of tempter to a Duke of Buckingham, not to a doctor of divinity, and lays the scene not in a cathedral, but in a guildhall. Ferguson, who accompanied

* Lord Dartmouth, notes in Burnet already cited.

the Prince, made a similar experiment upon the Dissenters, with still less success. He could obtain entrance into the meeting-house only by forcing the door. This disinclination of the people is generally assigned to the recollection of the cruelties which followed the invasion of Monmouth. It must have been the want of passion. Popular zeal does not reason or reflect, and the severities of one rebellion deposit the seeds of another.

The Prince of Orange rested nine days at Exeter, without being joined by one person of distinction or influence. He had given commissions to Lord Mordaunt, Sir John Guise, and Sir Robert Peyton, to raise three regiments. The levy did not proceed. He began to turn his eyes to his mast-heads. It is stated that he held a council of war, and "suffered it to be proposed to him" that he should embark.^a He suspected that he was betrayed, and resolved upon his return to Holland to publish the names of those who had invited him, "as a just return for their treachery, folly, and cowardice."^b The King, from the want of activity or means, was unable to take advantage of this desperate position of the Prince. There was, perhaps, a radical error in the King's system of defence. He should have covered the capital with one division of his force, and held another movable army in a central station, ready to march where the enemy should present himself. Such was the defence of Elizabeth against the armada. James had, it is true, neither her able and faithful servants, nor her force of character; nor, in short, any thing of hers, except her example, which was thrown away upon such a man. It is strange, if any thing were strange in his conduct, that he did not execute his own intention of pressing close on the Prince of Orange with the garrison and other troops immediately disposable, without waiting the arrival of the troops from the North. While the Prince was thus exposed, the King made war upon him only with extraordinary Gazettes; in one of which the invaders were stated to have robbed the Excise Office at Exeter of 300*l*.

Such men as James are made to be unfortunate. The gentlemen of the south-western counties, encouraged by the supineness of the King, and shamed by the presence and perseverance of the Prince, began to come in. Major Burrington is named as the first gentleman who joined the Prince. He was followed by Sir

Rapin.

^a Lord Dartmouth, note in Bur. vol. iii. 331.; and Dal. App.

Edward Seymour, who had already taken a leading part in public affairs. At his suggestion, a bond of association was drawn up, to be signed by all those lords and gentlemen who came in. "Without this," he said, "the Prince's friends might drop off when they pleased. They were but as a rope of sand." The Prince notwithstanding suspected Seymour, and ordered an officer named Gibson to watch his movements.* The engagement thus signed, bound the parties before God to support one another in defence of the laws and liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, the Protestant religion, and the Prince of Orange. The Prince rebuked them for their backwardness. "We expected," says he, "you that dwelt so near the place of our landing would have joined us sooner; not," he continues, "that we want your military assistance so much as your countenance and presence, to justify our declared pretensions, rather than to accomplish our good and gracious designs." He then proceeds in a tasteless and hollow strain, of more than regal pomp,—“Though we have brought a good fleet and army to render these kingdoms happy, by rescuing all Protestants from Popery, slavery, and arbitrary power, by restoring them to their rights and properties established by law, and by promoting of peace and trade, which is the soul of government, and the very life-blood of a nation, yet we rely more on the goodness of God and the justice of our cause than on any human force and power whatever. Yet, since God is pleased we shall make use of human means, and not expect miracles for our preservation and happiness, let us not neglect making use of this gracious opportunity, but with prudence and courage put in execution our so honourable purposes. Therefore, gentlemen, friends, and fellow Protestants, we bid you and all your followers most heartily welcome to our court and camp. Let the whole world now judge if our pretensions are not just, generous, sincere, and above price, since we might have even a bridge of gold to return back; but it is our principle and resolution rather to die in a good cause than live in a bad one, well knowing that virtue and true honour is its own reward, and the happiness of mankind our great and only design.” It should be observed here, that the Prince of Orange affects devotion to the better part of the policy of James,—peace and trade,—while his all-absorbing purpose was war; that

* Hal. MS.

he makes very light of both the previous "invitation" and present "countenance" of his English friends, compared with his own "pretensions," and the good and gracious obligations which he was conferring upon the three kingdoms; and that he, a distant contingent claimant, sought the crown of these three kingdoms as a return, while he professed to practise virtue as its own reward. He departed, in addressing the English, from the manly simplicity of demeanour and language with which he was accustomed to address the Hollanders. This derogates from the unostentatious and real greatness of his character. But, perhaps, he thought it prudent to rise above the Dutch republican level in addressing English royalists, of whom he aspired to become a king. The English people, as if by a tacit understanding, are never named; none are recognised beneath the condition of gentlemen, unless by the feudal and contemptuous denomination of followers. It is a distinctive trait of the Revolution of 1688, that the people are not parties to it, even by name, as a decent formality.

Among the "gentlemen, friends, and fellow Protestants," who joined the Prince of Orange at Exeter, was a noted intriguer named Speke, who, in the title-page of his "Secret History of the Revolution," designates himself "the principal transactor in it." Speke had been prosecuted and fined in the late reign for a libel, charging upon the government, or rather upon James, then Duke of York, the assassination of Lord Essex in the Tower; and by his own account, had purchased his peace afterwards by the payment of 5000*l*. From being thus obnoxious, he was, he states, received into the royal favour, and offered by the King a bribe of 10,000*l*. if he introduced himself as a spy into the camp of the Prince of Orange. To win the King's confidence, he declined the reward; set out with three passes, signed by Lord Feversham, "for all hours, times, and seasons, without interruption or denial;" "proceeded to Exeter; gave his passes to Bentinck, "who made no little use of them;" obtained the confidence of the Prince of Orange, to whom he was devoted "from principle;" and wrote letters, at the Prince's dictation, to the King, calculated to work upon his fears, and excite his distrust of those around him, by pretending that his chief officers but waited the opportunity to desert him. The information of the spy was as true as his motives were treacherous, and, unfortunately for James, it failed to make him suspicious. He rejected the advice of Lord Melfort and other leading Catholics,

to seize the persons of those suspected, even after the news of the landing of the Prince.^a

The defection now began in a fatal quarter—the King's army. The example was set by Lord Colchester, eldest son of Lord Rivers, and a lieutenant in Lord Dover's troop of lifeguards. He could seduce but four privates of his regiment, but was accompanied by Colonel Godfrey, Mr. How, who had gone over to Holland upon a secret mission to the Prince,^b and about sixty other horsemen. Mr. Wharton, son of Lord Wharton, Mr. Russel, brother of the sacrificed lord, and Lord Abington, joined the Prince at the same time. But the defection which most deeply wounded James was that of Lord Cornbury, son of the Earl of Clarendon, and nephew of the first Duchess of York. Lord Cornbury, finding himself the senior officer at Salisbury, in the absence of Lanier, ordered out his own regiment of dragoons, the King's, and St. Alban's, the two latter commanded respectively by Lieutenant-Colonels Compton and Langston,—and marched them by Blandford and Dorchester towards Honiton. The rapidity and distance of his march excited the suspicion of his officers. His own major (Clifford) demanded a sight of his orders. He said he was commanded to attack an enemy's post; and, on arriving at Axminster, ordered out sixty dragoons, under pretence of falling upon the enemy at Honiton. Major Littleton, and other officers, now suspected and questioned him so closely, that he fled with several officers and only the sixty troopers. Lord Cornbury is said to have lost his presence of mind at the critical moment,^c and to have been a person of mean understanding.^d The officers who suspected him must have also wanted promptitude, or they would have secured him, at such a crisis, alive or dead. Langston, who was in the secret, followed with his regiment to Honiton. He was met here by Colonel Tolmache, whom the Prince of Orange had sent forward with three regiments of foot. Langston now told the regiment, that he brought them not to fight the Dutch, but to serve the Prince. The major (Norton) and several subalterns refused obedience: they were dismounted, disarmed, plundered, and, adds the King, "with much ado got liberty to return on foot to the army." The two other regiments, which had not yet come up, seeing themselves betrayed, fled back in great disorder. Most of the troopers, even

^a Bar. au Roi, Dal. App.

^d State of Europe, cited in Ralph.

^b Dal. App.

^c Burnet

of Langston's regiment, "returned," says the King, "as they found opportunity; which shewed "greater honour and fidelity in the common men than in the generality of the officers, who usually value themselves so much for these qualifications." ^a Lord Clarendon was in despair at the conduct of his son, and ran "to throw himself at the King's feet." James received him with kindness, said he pitied him, and was soon deserted by the father more meanly than by the son.

This desertion was in itself of trifling moment. Some advantage might even be drawn from it, as a proof of the fidelity of most of the officers, and all the privates. Yet was it, by the King's own account, almost decisive of his fate. It broke, he says, his measures, disheartened the other troops, created jealousies, made each man distrust his neighbour, sent the country gentlemen to the camp of the Prince of Orange, and neutralised the capture of Lord Lovelace. ^b This nobleman, advancing with about seventy horsemen, to join the Prince, was attacked at Cirencester by the militia, and made prisoner, with thirteen of his companions. Lord Lovelace had beaten his footman, who, in consequence, took out a warrant against him. He refused to obey it, on the ground of its being signed by a popish justice, and figured as an aggrieved peer in the declaration of the Prince of Orange. His mishap gave great satisfaction at court; its importance was exaggerated, and the counterpoise of the desertion of Lord Cornbury was the more felt. The arrival of Lord Feversham at Salisbury, and his incapacity, aggravated or completed this disaster. He took up without enquiry the first loose rumour that reached him of the desertion of three regiments to a man; imagined the Prince of Orange ready to fall upon his outposts; commanded his advanced guards to fall back upon Salisbury from Warminster and Marlborough; and ordered the infantry which were on their march towards his head-quarters to halt about Windsor and Staines. These orders could not fail to dispirit the troops.

James should have been by this time with his army at its advanced posts. He was still at court, surrounded by trembling priests, and servants who were either treacherous or incapable. The news filled the court with surprise and consternation; exaggerated, as the desertion must have been, by Lord Feversham. In

^a Life of James, vol. ii. p. 207.

^b Id. *ibid*

all the accounts antecedent to the recently published *Life of King James*, it is stated, that the infantry, the artillery, and the King's baggage, then on the way to Salisbury, were halted by an order from the court. It appears from the King's Manuscript Memoirs, cited in the *Life*, that the order was issued by Lord Feversham. But the consternation at court was such, that the King, who was just going to dine, called for a piece of bread and a glass of wine, and proceeded to hold a council. The result was, that the King should not risk his person with the army for two or three days.^a Such, in substance, is the account cited by the compiler from the King's Manuscript Memoirs. That of Barillon is more particular. Father Petre, who, he says, was now consulted in every thing, opposed the King's leaving London; reminded James that his father had lost his crown and his head by not remaining in the capital; and advised him to send his son to France, not only for his safety, but to menace parties and the nation with the prospect of a long war.^b James was, at the same time, haunted with the terrors of treachery and desertion about his person; and not without reason, if credit may be given to the compiler of the *Life*. Whilst, says the latter, the King was in consultation upon his desperate circumstances, Lords Sunderland, Churchill, and Godolphin were seen walking hand in hand, along the gallery, in a transport of joy.^c He now professed to Barillon that his views were changed respecting the effect of a French alliance upon his fortunes. French aid in troops and money would, he said, now serve him in public opinion. Barillon replied that this was too vague. James said that Lord Melfort should confer with him on the extent to which he would act in concert with Louis against the States General. The French ambassador ascribes the King's slowness to the change of his ministers on the removal of Sunderland, and to his distrust of Godolphin, who advised a compromise with the Prince of Orange, and who was trusted with the secret of the French pension only because it could not be kept from one who was at the head of the treasury.^d From a despatch, dated only three days later, it may be inferred that the hesitation of James really proceeded from his still clinging dread of committing himself openly and implicitly with Louis XIV. Barillon informs his master that he had many con-

^a MS. Mem. cited in *Life*, etc. 219.

^b Bar. au Roi, 25 Nov. 1688. Fox MSS.

^c Bar. au Roi, 22 Nov. 1688. Fox MSS.

^d *Life*, etc. vol. ii. 218.

ferences with the King and Lord Melfort ; that the King desired a close union against the States-General and the Prince, but not reduced to writing, so as to admit of his still denying the existence of a treaty ; that he was anxious not to appear the aggressor, but to let the Dutch be the first to commence hostilities ; that he desired the aid of the French troops, and, above all, a junction of the French and British fleets ; that he should hold himself indebted to Louis for keeping his crown ; and that he should regard as a traitor any one who proposed a compromise with the Prince of Orange. This last declaration was made by him publicly at court, in the hearing of the Spanish ambassador ; but Barillon adds, that circumstances might make him change his mind, and listen to the worst counsels.^a

The King, on next day, after holding the above-mentioned council, summoned all the general officers and colonels that remained in town, and addressed to them a remarkable speech, of which the substance is recorded by himself. He told them, that he would call a parliament as soon as peace was restored ; that he would secure their liberties, privileges, and religion, and grant any thing more they required of him ; that, if any amongst them were not free and willing to serve him, he gave them leave to surrender their commissions, and go where they pleased ; that he believed them men of too much honour to imitate Lord Cornbury ; but was willing to spare them, if they desired it, the discredit of so base a desertion. " They all," continues the King, " seemed to be moved at the discourse, and vowed they would serve him to the last drop of their blood. The Duke of Grafton and my Lord Churchill were the first that made their attestation ;"—" and the first," adds the compiler, " who, to their eternal infamy, broke it afterwards, as well as Kirke and Trelawney, who were no less lavish of their promises."^b

The emotion and assurances of those superior officers, and news from the head-quarters that Lord Cornbury had carried over but a small number, restored the confidence of the King. He resolved once more to place himself at the head of the army ; ordered the infantry and artillery to resume their march westward ; sent the infant Prince of Wales to Portsmouth, for the purpose of being conveyed to France ; recommended the city to the care of the Lord

^a Bar. au Roi, 25 Nov. 1688. Fox MSS.

^b Life, etc. vol. ii. 218.

Mayor; and appointed as a council the Chancellor (Jeffreys), Lord Bellasis, Lord Arundel, and Lord Godolphin, preparatory to his departure for the army next day, the 17th of November. Meanwhile Father Petre, having been removed from the King's council,^a made his escape to France in the suite of Lord Waldegrave, who went over as ambassador in the room of Skelton; and a petition to the King for a parliament was prepared by certain lords spiritual and temporal.

This petition originated with Lord Clarendon and several prelates assembled at Lambeth Palace. It proposed two measures; the calling a free parliament, and using means to prevent the effusion of Christian blood; in other words, treating with the Prince of Orange. The version of what preceded and followed the presentation of it, extracted from the King's Memoirs, differs essentially from that hitherto before the world.^b According to the latter, the Duke of Norfolk, and Lords Halifax, Oxford, Nottingham, and Carbery, proposed, that those peers who had joined the Prince of Orange should be allowed to sit in the proposed parliament; and upon the rejection of this suggestion by a large majority, withdrew their names. The King merely says, that "the night before he went down to Salisbury, they (the bishops) waited on him again with further proposals, about assembling a parliament, and treating with the Prince of Orange; and had got some temporal lords to join with them, as the Dukes of Grafton and Ormond; but the M. of Halifax, E. of Nottingham, and several others, positively refused." It was presented by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and Bishops of Rochester and Ely, on the evening of the 16th according to the King, on the morning of the 17th according to others.^c Both the petition and the King's answer were immediately published, and debated with all the fury of religious party spirit. The petitioners were called by the King's friends traitors in disguise; the King's promise of a parliament when the Prince of Orange should have quitted the realm was spurned on the other side as a popish vow, which would not be kept with heretics.^d

The petition contains but the two points already mentioned, and demands no further reference. But the King's answer, as given

^a Lett. of Van. Citt. 16 Nov. O.S.

^b Derived originally from "The History of the Desertion." State Tracts, vol. i.

^c Life of Sancroft, vol. i. p. 384.

^d "Some Reflections on the humble Petition," etc. "Modest Vindication," etc. Ralph, vol. i. p. 1041—1043.

by himself," differs remarkably in tone and temper from the previously known version. Both are short, and should, perhaps, be placed side by side. In the one the King is made to say, "My Lords, what you ask of me I most passionately desire; and I promise you, upon the word of a King, that I will have a parliament, and such an one as you ask for, as soon as ever the Prince of Orange has quitted the realm. For how is it possible a parliament should be free in all its circumstances, as you petition for, whilst an enemy is in the kingdom, and can make a return of near one hundred voices?" Such is the answer made public at the time. The following is cited by the compiler from the King's Memoirs:— "All the King could say to it (the petition) was, that it was too late, being then ten at night, and he to set out next morning to Salisbury, and *therefore could not give them an answer in writing*; that; it was not a time fit to call a parliament when armies were in the field, nor proper for him to treat with the Prince of Orange, who had invaded him without any provocation, against all the laws of God and man, and against the duty he owed to him as a nephew and son-in-law; and that it would much better become them, who were bishops of the Church of England, to perform their obligation by instructing the people in their duty to God and the King, than to be presenting petitions and giving rules for government, and fomenting that rebellious temper they had already begot in the nation, instead of declaring against the invasion, which he found they could not be prevailed upon to do."

This variance may be accounted for by supposing that the King afterwards found it expedient to give "an answer in writing." From such a diplomatic piece as the latter, nothing, not even the purpose of evasion, can be distinctly inferred. The verbal answer, on the other hand, is conclusive of his thoughts and temper. The stern despotism of his rebuke proves that his confidence was restored, and that he would never call any parliament but such as he could mould to his purposes. The extent of those purposes is another question. But granting him the benefit of his own declarations, that he designed not the restoration of the Church of Rome to its ancient and exclusive sway, but the universal emancipation of religious conscience, it is clear that, even in conferring liberty, he would still be a tyrant.

* MS. Mem. cited in Life, etc.

The King left London, accompanied by Barillon, on the 17th, and reached the head-quarters of his army, at Salisbury, on the 19th of November. He took up his residence in the Bishop's palace. As a measure of conciliation, he brought with him Mr. Chetwood, a Protestant chaplain. Chetwood appears to have been a man of sense, temper, firmness, and spirit. He found the King's priests in possession of the Bishop's chapel, and had the courage to request their removal. The King complied without apparent reluctance or displeasure; and named the chaplain soon after Bishop of Bristol.^a

It is stated by most historians of the Revolution, that the officers "devoted to the King"^b waited upon him on the evening of his arrival, to express their abhorrence of the treachery of Lord Cornbury. This incident is not mentioned by James,—at least, not cited by the compiler, who draws freely, at this period, upon the manuscript Memoirs.

It was now judged too late to execute the first intention of pushing forward strong detachments of cavalry, in order to intimidate the country gentlemen, and enclose the Prince of Orange in the peninsula between the Bristol and English Channels. The Prince was advanced to Axminster. A small party of the Prince's cavalry encountered, and, according to Burnet, and all those who have followed him, routed, double the number of the King's troops at Wincanton. The commanding officer of the King's party, on the other hand, claims a decided success in an official account addressed to Lord Churchill.^c This paltry skirmish would not deserve mention if the campaign were not so utterly inglorious. The artillery, a part of the infantry, and the Scotch and Irish dragoons, were not yet come up. Such was the state in which the King found his army, and the enemy. To encourage his troops, he announced that he should visit next morning his advanced post at Warminster. It was commanded in chief by Kirke, who had under him Trelawney and Maine. On the preceding night he was seized with a bleeding at the nose, which confined him for three days. This incident has derived importance from its effects on the fortunes of the King, and its involving the reputation of Lord Churchill, and the memory of the Duke of Marlborough. The testimony most deserving of respect is assuredly that of the King. He begins by saying that he

^a Chetwood had the rare moderation to decline a mitre.

^b Col. Maine's relation of a Skirmish, etc. MS. Preston Papers.

^c Rapin.

was not naturally subject to bleeding at the nose, and that it happened in this instance to him "very providentially." Anxiety of mind and fatigue of body would sufficiently account for this unusual bleeding to a man of stronger mind and better-governed imagination. He proceeds to give his reason for believing it providential. It was, he says, "generally believed afterwards," that Lord Churchill, Kirke, Trelawney, and some others, had formed a design to seize his person on his way to or from Warminster, and place him in the hands of the Prince of Orange. Barillon merely says, that the suspicions entertained of Churchill were general and strong.* Father Orleans makes the charge more confidently. That Jesuit wrote under the eye of the King. Some coincidences of expression would make it appear that he drew from James's Memoirs. Sir John Reresby mentions the plot as generally believed, and suggests the flight of Lord Churchill on its failure as circumstantial proof. Rapin, on the other side, rejects it as inconsistent with Lord Churchill's "respectful letter" to the King; whilst the biographer of the Duke of Marlborough treats it with disdain. The simplicity of Rapin in this instance is unusual to him; but the character and intrigues of Marlborough were not yet disclosed, and the French refugee was carried away by his religious and party sympathies with the commander of the allies against Louis XIV. Archdeacon Coxe, with recent and better information, should have remembered that his hero was the last person in whose case a charge of perfidy and meanness could be treated with contempt.

The King, sinking both in body and mind (the loss of blood co-operating with his disappointment), a prey to two passions which take away all force of soul and faculty—distrust and fear—called round him a council of general officers, and asked them what was to be done. Lord Feversham, his brother the Count de Roye, and Lord Dunbarton, advised a retreat towards London. Lord Churchill urged the King's maintaining his post at Salisbury. James having, he says, now more confidence in the former, adopted their advice. It was too late, he observes, to pursue his first design of advancing upon the enemy. This circumstance is so frequently mentioned by him, that his fatal delays in joining the army must, even after a considerable lapse of time, when he wrote this portion of the memoirs, have weighed upon his mind.

* Bar. au Roi, 9 Dec. 1688. Fox MSS.

It is stated in almost all the accounts of the Revolution, that the officers, including those who abhorred the desertion of Lord Cornbury but a day or two before, and offered James the last drop of their blood, now waited on Lord Feversham, to say they could not in conscience fight against a Prince whose only purpose was to secure the Protestant religion by a free Parliament; though his Majesty might still, as before, command their lives. This circumstance is not stated, or even remotely alluded to, either in the extracts from the King's Memoirs or by the compiler; and neither the compiler nor the King could have any motive for suppressing it. The absence of any reference goes a great way in negating its truth. The various writers who have mentioned it may have merely echoed "the History of the Desertion," and each other. Barillon, who could scarcely have failed to know and communicate so important an incident had it really occurred, merely says that the temper of the troops did not inspire confidence; that Churchill, Grafton, and Kirke, made no secret of their disaffection; that the privates knew the disinclination of the superior officers, but that James was still glad of having joined the army, because he would have been importuned to call a parliament had he remained in London.

The King at the same time suspected, without distinction, the chief officers of his army. His distrusts were soon realised. Kirke, who commanded the advanced posts, disobeyed an order to fall back upon Devizes, made a frivolous excuse, was placed in arrest, and from James's lenity, as he asserts,^a but more probably from his want of resolution, was soon released. Trelawney, the next in command, deserted from Warminster with Colonel Charles Churchill, Colonel Lewson, a captain, and a few subalterns. Lord Churchill, on the night of the day on which he had sat and advised the King in a council of war, deserted with the Duke of Grafton, Colonel Berkely, and some officers of his own regiment of dragoons. It has been said repeatedly for Lord Churchill that he betrayed no post, and seduced no person to desert. To betray a post was not in his power; the enemy was too distant. But his advice in the council of war, considering that he had long before placed his honour, as he expressed it, in the hands of the Prince of Orange, must have been perfidious; and the inference is irresistible,

^a MS. Mem. cited in *Life*, etc. vol. ii. p. 224.

that he urged the King's remaining at Salisbury, with the hope of being able to betray his post, the army, and his sovereign. The second allegation in his favour is against fact: he carried over the officers of his regiment, and, with still deeper treachery, the counsels of his trusting master. Lord Churchill left behind him his well-known letter to King James,—a flimsy pleading, yet so far above his known vocabulary and style, that no doubt can remain of its having been written for him. It begins by asserting, with remarkable hardihood, that he acted contrary to his interests; and the same pretence was revived several years after the Revolution by his wife.^a Was it a sacrifice of interest to desert from a prince on the brink of ruin to his successful enemy, who aspired to his crown? Lord Churchill confesses his obligations to James, but pleads “a higher principle”—his religion. With this higher principle, he should have been long since in the court or camp of the Prince of Orange, not of King James. It would be rash to assume that conscience was a mask worn by such men as Lord Churchill, or even the atrocious Kirke. At this period, as Burnet expressed it, a man might be a bad Englishman, a worse Christian, and yet a good Protestant.^b Religion in 1688 was not a rational conviction, or a sentiment of benevolence and charity; but one of the malignant passions and a cause of quarrel. Even in the next age, Congreve makes a lying sharper, in one of his plays, talk seriously of fighting for his religion. This is spoken, it is true, by a fictitious personage; but the dramatist calculated upon its being echoed by the best and worst among the audience, from the gallery to the side boxes. Lord Churchill is said to have been received at the quarters of the Prince of Orange with a compliment more appropriate than probable;—“My Lord Churchill,” said Marshal Schomberg, “is the first lieutenant-general I have ever heard of that deserted his colours.”^c

The historians of the Revolution have propagated as a fact, through two centuries, that the treachery of this base favourite and great captain overwhelmed James, and precipitated what has been called his fatal abandonment of his army. Motives of action and states of mind are among the most tempting and fallacious matters of history. The King's consternation appears to have been exaggerated, and the circumstances of his retreat misrepresented.

^a Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, etc.
^c Life of K. James. from his MS. Mem.

^b Burnet, vol. iii. Oxf. ed.

He was warned of the treachery of Lord Churchill, and advised to send him and the Duke of Grafton prisoners to Portsmouth.^a His adviser, not named by himself, is stated by others to have been Lord Feversham. Barillon, the best authority, names Lord Melfort, and adds that James never took a resolution until it was too late to be of service to him.^b This counsel, though the King, as he says, upon further consideration, thought not fit to act upon it,^c took away his confidence in Lord Churchill;^d whose desertion, therefore, did not take him by surprise. It could not have caused the retreat of the army or of the King, which was previously resolved in a council of war.^e Lord Peterborough told Lord Halifax, that it was proposed afterwards to the King to take the lives of the Duke of Grafton, Lord Churchill, and Kirke, "but that he could not resolve it."^f

But did King James really desert his army, according to the voice of common fame? His own testimony, in the extracts from his Memoirs, has the best title to confidence in this and most other instances, on the grounds of personal veracity, opportunity, and internal evidence. He appears to narrate without any idea of refutation or defence. According to him, the retreat was advised by Lord Feversham, the Count de Roye, and Lord Dumbarton.^g The motives which he assigns are, that it was now too late to execute the first design of occupying the posts beyond Blandford, and closing upon the Prince of Orange; that the suspected treachery or actual defection of so many of the chief officers rendered it imprudent to await or approach the enemy and hazard an engagement; that he accordingly adopted the course of retiring behind the Thames, and taking the river for his line of operations.

Other conspiring causes have been assigned by various writers:^h among these are, a false alarm of the approach of Marshal Schomberg; the risings in favour of the Prince of Orange, headed by Lord Delamere in Cheshire; by Lord Lumley and Lord Danby in the North; by the Earl of Devonshire at Derby; the declaration in favour of the Prince of Orange and a free parliament at Nottingham; a letter from the Queen, conveyed her earnest advice, in concert with the chief Catholics, that he should immediately return

^a MS. Memoirs, cited in *Life*, etc.

^c MS. Mem. cited in *Life*, etc.

^f Halifax MS.

^h Hist. of Deser. Burnet. Rapin. Echard. Kennet. Ralph.

^b Bar. au Roi, Dec. 1. Fox MSS.

^d Id. Ibid.

^e Id. Ibid.

^g MS. Mem. cited in *Life*, etc.

to the capital, and retire to France. The kingdom, according to this alleged letter, would be in such confusion, that he might expect to be soon recalled by the nation on his own terms.

The operation of a false alarm is not only not mentioned by the King, but incompatible with the circumstances of his retreat. The local insurrections, for the most part distant, could not have affected his military counsels at Salisbury, and were really unimportant in themselves. A victory over the Prince of Orange,—even a vigorous check,—with the proclamation of a general pardon, and perhaps without it, would soon have left the tardy courage of those lords without followers. It is observed by one of themselves,^a that they discreetly limited their demands to a free parliament; that at York, where Lord Danby was the leader, the Prince of Orange was not named; and thus, he adds, they left it in the King's power to oblige them to put up their swords as soon as he pleased. Lord Danby even declared that he was “for *the King* and a free parliament.”^b

No letter from the Queen or the Catholics is mentioned by the King; but the fact of his sending the Prince of Wales to Portsmouth shows that, before he had yet joined the army, he contemplated the possibility of his own flight to France. It was the constant advice and object of Louis XIV. that he should come to no terms with the Prince of Orange; above all, that he should submit to no partition or diminution of the royal authority;^c and this counsel was urged in London by Barillon. The compiler from the King's Memoirs describes the afflictions and anxieties of the Queen, left unprotected and alone, in the midst of a mutinous city; her infant son sent away, as she supposed, to a foreign country; her husband gone upon a dangerous expedition, not knowing whom to trust.—“It is not,” says he, “to be wondered, if she begged the King to be cautious what steps he made in such suspected company; not knowing but the ground on which he thought to stand with most security might sink from under his feet.”^d In such a state of mind, the Queen most probably urged his return. This advice would naturally be suppressed by the compiler and the King. The Queen was reproached, by the unfortunate followers of James, with having induced him to withdraw himself from the kingdom;^e and the husband may be excused for withholding such a fact, in tenderness to one who, whatever her faults as a queen, deserved

^a Lord Delamere's Letter, etc.; State Tracts.
^b Bar. Correa. Fox MSS. *passim*.

^c Reresby's Mem.
^d Life, etc. ^e Id.]

all his affection as a woman. There appear no grounds for supposing that she was joined by the leading Catholics; there is even evidence of the contrary. Barillon, writing on the 13th of December, states that some Catholic lords were among those who advised the King to concede the required securities to the Protestants.^a Father Petre, it may be added, had before this time withdrawn himself.

The retreat of King James before the Prince of Orange, to be fairly judged, would require a minute and perhaps military view of the resources, material and moral, which he still possessed. It is a startling fact, at the very threshold, in its justification, that Kirke and Churchill were opposed to it. Lord Churchill, in his endeavour to keep the King at Salisbury, could have consulted only the interests of the Prince of Orange. The Prince, on the other hand, approached the King with a slow and timid step. Upon the news of the King's arrival at Salisbury, he advanced only to Axminster; a short march from Exeter, along the coast, in sight of his ships. Instead of advancing from Axminster, by the plains of Dorsetshire and Wiltshire, to meet or attack the King, he moved upon Sherborne to secure Bristol. The King had lost of his 32,000 men a large proportion of officers, but only a few hundred privates. The Prince had received no efficient accession. The three regiments, for the levy of which he had given commissions, amounted to nothing worthy of the name.^b He evidently regarded the King as an enemy in superior force. Marshal Schomberg, upon being told that the King was advancing to give battle, coolly replied, "If we think proper."^c

"I have been well informed," says Speaker Onslow, "that had he (James) shown any courage and spirit on the occasion, his army would have fought the Prince of Orange."^d Had James manifested the requisite energy, activity, and resolution, to overawe the false and inspire the faithful, his army would, doubtless, have fought and conquered. But to do this, he must have changed his nature and become another man. The fatal and unpardonable error of James, and the most deeply felt by himself, appears to have been committed in a preceding stage. He might, and therefore should, have joined the troops before the desertions began. His presence in the camp would have prevented the desertion of Lord Cornbury. Had he even placed himself at the head of the troops

^a Bar. au Roi, 13 Dec. Fox MSS.

^b Ibid.

^c Rapin.

^d Note in Bar. vol. iii. p. 323.

immediately upon that event, his presence might have maintained or restored the tone of the army. But after three days' delay in London, and three days more of inaction and faintness from anxiety of mind and loss of blood in the camp, his fortunes, to a man of his capacity and temper, were perhaps irretrievable.

The chief wrong which the memory of James has suffered from ungenerous enemies, disappointed friends, and the voice of history, is the imputation of having abandoned his army with dastardly haste. He did not abandon it: he retired with the infantry, leaving the cavalry behind him under the command of Lord Feversham.^a His first day's march was only from Salisbury to Andover. This negatives precipitation, and, above all, the charge of having separated himself from his troops.

In the morning after the first night's halt at Andover, the King was informed that Prince George of Denmark had deserted in the night. "He was shocked," says the compiler, "by the unnaturalness of the action," but observed, that the loss of a good trooper had been of greater consequence;^b and, instead of showing the least resentment, ordered his servants and equipage to follow the Prince."^c According to others, he treated the flight and character of his son-in-law with contemptuous pleasantry. The Prince, upon every new instance of defection, exclaimed, with feigned or foolish wonder, "Est-il possible?" "So," said the King, "*Est-il possible* is gone too."

Prince George left behind him a letter to the King, bearing so close a resemblance to that of Lord Churchill, that both are presumed to have come from the same pen.^d These pieces of flimsy rhetoric and transparent hypocrisy are undeserving of notice, and too well known to be cited even as curious. It may be remarked, in passing, that Prince George says he is forced to tear himself from his benefactor and father-in-law; first by his conscience, and next by the King's being leagued with the cruel zeal and prevailing power of Louis XIV. against all the Protestant princes of Christendom. He forgot, or did not know, that Denmark was at the time the ally of France.

This prince affords one of the many proofs of the fact, that the meanest faculties suffice to practise knavery with success. He and the Princess Anne, his wife, entirely governed by Lord and Lady

• MS. Mem. cited in Life, etc.
• MS. Mem. cited. Ibid.

• Life, vol. ii. p. 225.
• See letters in Kennet.

Churchill, were engaged to favour the designs of the Prince of Orange before the expedition left Holland.^a Fagel, who died during the crisis of the Revolution, declared on his death-bed that the Prince of Orange had obtained the sanction of the Prince and Princess of Denmark before he resolved upon the enterprise.^b "The Prince," says the Princess Anne, writing to the Prince of Orange, "went yesterday with the King towards Salisbury, intending to go from thence to you as soon as his friends thought it proper."^c Thus it appears that he accompanied the King from London with the intention to desert him, and, though so weak-minded as to require and submit to the tutelage of Lord Churchill, he yet had enough of cunning to live unsuspected at the King's table up to the last moment of supping with him at Andover.^d He was accompanied in his flight by the Duke of Ormond, Lord Drumlanrig, Sir George Hewet, and some others of meaner rank, but not of meaner principles. The young Duke of Ormond was one of the noblemen who figured in the Gazette as volunteering their services, and accepting commissions to raise troops against the invader. He was, at the same time, deep in the intrigues of the Prince of Orange, for corrupting the faith, not only of the army, but the fleet.^e Lord Drumlanrig, son of the Duke of Queensberry, was also a young man. It is not easy to reconcile with the frankness of youth the treachery with which these noblemen abused up to the last moment the favour, confidence, and hospitality of the unfortunate king. But the vigour and virtue of the English nation and character had dwindled from the restoration of the Stuarts: a degenerate race succeeded the men of the Commonwealth. The aristocracy seem to have been born without that sense which is supposed to be their peculiar distinction,—the sense of honour.

^a Mem. of Lord Balc. Som. Tr. vol. xi.

^b Lett. of D'Albyville to Lord Preston, 16th Dec. 1688. Preston Papers.

^c Princess Anne to Prince of Orange, 18th Nov. Dal. App.

^d Her. Mem.

^e Byng's Mem. in Dal. App.

CHAPTER XVI.

Desertion of the Princess Anne.—Progress of Insurrection.—The King treats with the Prince.—Intrigue of Lord Halifax.—The Prince of Wales sent to Portsmouth.—Negociation with William.—Terror of James.—The Queen and Prince of Wales sent to France.—First Flight of the King.—Disorders in London.—Irish Alarm.—Assembly of Peers in the City.—Progress of the Prince.

THE King left Andover on the morning of the 25th, repassed the Thames with the greater part of the infantry, distributed the troops between Maidenhead, Windsor, Staines, Egham, Chertsey, Colnbrook, and other parts within the river, and arrived on the 26th in London. The first news that met him was the flight of his daughter, the Princess Anne. It was now that, as a sovereign and father, he appears to have been overwhelmed. He burst into tears, and cried, "God help me! my own children have forsaken me." According to the compiler of his life, he compared his situation to that of King David, and exclaimed, with him, "Oh, if mine enemies only had cursed me, I could have borne it!"

The Princess, like Prince George and Lord Churchill, her confederate predecessors in desertion, left a letter. It was addressed to the Queen. In this letter, truth and nature are thrown aside. "Madam," she says to the Queen, whom she hated, "I beg your pardon, if I am so deeply affected with the surprising news of the Prince's being gone, as not to be able to see you, but to leave this paper, to express my humble duty to the King and yourself, and to let you know that I am gone to absent myself, to avoid the King's displeasure, which I am not able to bear to the Prince or myself..... Never was any one in so unhappy a condition, so divided between duty and affection to a father and a husband." This dutiful and affectionate daughter and wife was already in correspondence with her father's enemy, was a party to her husband's desertion, was long resolved upon her own, and fled to the Prince of Orange.

The Princess Anne, like her elder sister, was brought up by

Protestant divines of mean capacity^a and intolerant zeal. She was taught to look upon the Church as grievously ill used in being deprived of the pleasure of crushing or worrying Papists and Dissenters. "It is," says she, with the characteristic vulgarity of her language and understanding, "a melancholy prospect that all we of the Church of England have. All the sectaries may now do what they please. Every one has the free exercise of their religion, on purpose, no doubt, to ruin us, which I think to all impartial judges is very plain."^b She was, no doubt, a sincerely devout person; but her devotion consisted mainly in abhorring the religion of her father. "I abhor," says she, "the principles of the Church of Rome as much as it is possible for any one to do. And certainly, there is the greatest reason in the world to do so; for the doctrine of the Church of Rome is wicked and dangerous, and directly contrary to the Scriptures; and their ceremonies, most of them, plain downright idolatry."^c Idolatry!—fatal word, which has edged more swords, lighted more fires, and inhumanised more hearts, than the whole vocabulary of the passions besides.

Such was the confession of faith of the Princess Anne. She was taught, moreover, to identify the principles of the Church of Rome in their most odious colours with her own father,—to believe that he had imposed between her and the throne a supposititious papist heir.^d The only question remaining is, whether her abhorrence went only to his religion, and did not extend to his person. Yet never had daughter a more kind and indulgent father. With all his bigotry, he rarely spoke to her on the subject of religion. One occasion was, that of her talking to the person next her, or looking another way, while a priest said grace at the King's table. This solitary interference, which appears to have been mild, and the outrage to common decorum, as well as filial respect, which provoked it, are recorded by herself.^e

The letter of the Princess Anne, said to have been left by her on her toilet, was not delivered. The consequences might have proved fatal to the Queen. The servants of the Princess, alarmed by her not appearing two hours later than her usual time in the morning,

^a Barnet, vol. iii. Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough. ^b Dal. App. 302.

^c The Princess Anne to the Princess of Orange, April 20, 1688. Dal. App.

^d Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham. Account of the Revolution.

^e Her Letter to the Princess of Orange, Dec. 22. 1686. Dal. App.

went into her bed-room, found her bed empty, ran, screaming, to Lord Dartmouth's, and told Lady Dartmouth their mistress was murdered by the priests. They next went to the Queen, and asked her what she had done with the Princess. The Queen answered, very gravely, that she supposed their mistress was where she liked to be, assured them she knew nothing of her, and said she had no doubt they would soon hear of her.^a "Her nurse and my Lady Clarendon," says the King, "ran about like people out of their senses, crying out the Papists had murdered her; and, when they met any of the Queen's servants, asked them what they had done with the Princess; which, considering the ferment the people were in, and how susceptible they were of any ill impression against the Queen, might have made her be torn in pieces by the rabble."^b The common version of the appearance of the letter is, that it was published by the Court in its own defence, "for fear," says one historian, "the Papists should be cut to pieces in revenge, even by the King's own guards."^c The Queen, had she possessed the letter, would doubtless have produced it in the first instance, and the King says expressly it was never delivered.^d The suggestion of the compiler of the Life of James, that it was kept back in order to favour the rumour that the Princess was made away with, is unwarranted.^e It appears, however, that the flight and safety of the Princess were already known before the letter appeared.

The manner of her flight is described circumstantially by the Duchess of Marlborough, the contriver and companion of her escape.^f The Duchess asserts that it was unpremeditated. The main facts stated by herself prove the contrary. The sudden news, she says, of the desertion of Prince George and return of the King so frightened the Princess, that she said, "rather than see her father, she would jump out of the window." A note had been sent very opportunely, a little before, to Lady Churchill, mentioning where the Bishop of London might be found, "if the Princess wanted a friend." The Bishop, who, according to the Duchess of Marlborough, "had absconded at this critical moment," was commanded to attend at a given time and place. The Prin-

^a Lord Dartmouth, note in Bar. vol. iii. p. 335.

^b MS. Mem. cited in Life, vol. ii. 22.

^c Ralph, 1048.

^d Ubi supra.

^e Conduct of the Duch. of Marl. pp. 17, 18.

^f Letter of Lord Devonshire to the Prince of Orange, Dal. App.

cess went to bed as usual, to prevent suspicion ; soon rose ; escaped by a back staircase, with Lady Churchill and Mrs. Berkeley into the street ; and was borne off by the Bishop in a hackney coach, at midnight,—first, to his own house, in Aldersgate ; then to Lord Dorset's, at Cophall ; next to Northampton, where he took the command of an armed escort of volunteer cavalry ; and thence to Nottingham. Here the Earl of Devonshire appears to have superseded the gallant Bishop in the command,^a and conducted the Princess to the Prince, her husband, at Oxford, on her way to join the Prince of Orange.

Her flight was doubtless caused, in one sense, by the news of her husband's desertion. It was the signal for which she waited. But her preparations were made. She had absented herself some time, under the pretence of bad health and pregnancy, from the apartments of the King and Queen ;^a and she caused the very stairs by which she escaped to be made for the purpose, under pretence of having more easy access to the apartments of Lady Churchill.^b It is stated that Mulgrave, the lord chamberlain, had orders to apprehend Lady Churchill and Lady Fitzharding ; that the Princess induced him to defer the execution of his orders until she should have spoken to the Queen next day ; and that in the meantime she and her two attendant ladies fled.^c This version is incorrect. Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, then Earl Mulgrave, says, in his *Memoir of the Revolution*, that the King, upon the desertion of Lord Churchill, sent immediate orders to seize his papers at Whitehall, without having first secured either his lady or the Princess ; “which,” he adds, “was only frightening the one and disobliging the other.”^d It is thus clear that no such orders were sent to the chamberlain. Warrants of arrest and seizure were, however, really sent up by the King. Lord Middleton, who accompanied James, despatched from Andover, on the morning of the 25th, to Lord Preston, secretary of state, an order to seize the goods and furniture of Lord Churchill ; and arrest the clerk of his troop, as a security for the military chest in his hands.^e In the evening of the same day, Lord Middleton sent Lord Preston, from Hartley Row, the King's order to confine Lady Churchill to the

^a MS. Mem. cited in *Life*, etc.

^b *Id.* *ibid.*

^c Lett. of Lord Middleton to Lord Preston. Andover, 25th Nov. Preston Papers.

^d *Lediard's Life of Marlborough*.

^e *Works*, vol. ii. p. 76.

apartments of her sister, Lady Tyrconnell; and Mrs. Berkeley, wife of the fugitive Colonel, to her father's house.^a The resolutions of James were generally, his measures always, taken too late.

If the flight of his daughter wounded the heart of James, as a father, other calamities encompassed and pressed upon him more fatally as a sovereign. Insurrections multiplied and spread. The Prince of Orange was advancing, unopposed. Lord Bath, the governor of Plymouth, declared for him. This lord had been some time waiting to ascertain the stronger side, and added another example of intrigue and ingratitude.^b Lord Shrewsbury took undisputed possession of Bristol. The University of Oxford, that citadel of divine right and passive obedience, sent in its adhesion to the Prince of Orange. Doctor Finch, warden of All Souls, on the part of certain heads of houses, invited the Prince to Oxford, and offered him their plate. The midland and northern counties, from Northampton to Newcastle, were in the occupation of lords and gentlemen armed for the Prince of Orange and a free parliament. Hull was seized, in the name of the Prince, by the Lieutenant-Governor Copley, who disarmed the Catholic soldiers, and arrested the Catholic governor, Lord Langdale, in bed. York was seized by Lord Danby, who confined the governor, Sir John Reresby, on his parole, to his own house. This governor was utterly destitute of means of defence.^c James, by a rare exception, notices, with some bitterness, the conduct of Lord Devonshire. He had, he says, remitted the fine of 80,000*l.* to which that nobleman was condemned for having struck Colonel Culpepper in the King's apartment. But Ralph states a fact communicated to him personally by one of the Cavendish family, which detracts from the grace of this remission by the King. The earl's mother, after long absence from court, appeared at the drawing-room, and, kneeling to the King, presented to him a written acknowledgment of debt to that amount by the king, his father, to the father of the earl.

These rustic levies, at the heels of their landlords, would have been of little account against a handful of disciplined troops under competent and faithful officers.^d James had troops, but his officers were incompetent or unfaithful.

^a Lett. of Lord Middleton to Lord Preston. Hartley Row, 25th Nov.; seven in the evening. Preston Papers.

^b MS. Mem. cited in *Life*, vol. ii. p. 230.

^c See his *Memoirs*.

^d Letter of Lord Dev. to the P. of Orange, 2d Dec. Dal. App.

Among the King's chief sources of peril and distress was the state in which he found the capital. His council had been ill chosen: Jeffreys was odious for his character; Lords Bellasis and Arundel for their religion. Lord Godolphin alone possessed any share of the public confidence, and he had long been in correspondence with the Prince of Orange. During the King's absence, London was agitated by party-spirit and sinister rumours. The populace, after plundering some Catholic chapels, threatened to massacre the Catholics themselves. Blood appears to have been shed. The historian, Oldmixon, records with complacency the Protestant feat of a goldsmith's apprentice, who, meeting a priest carrying away a silver candlestick, cut off the priest's hand with the candlestick at a blow.

Never was prince more in want of counsel, or in a state which rendered counsel more difficult. Barillon writes to his master, that seeing the King and his ministers day and night, he yet could learn neither the force nor the progress of the Prince of Orange; that they were in the same state of ignorance at Salisbury; that the King's resolutions perpetually changed; that he was again eager to meet and fight the Prince of Orange, contrary to the opinion of the general officers, who said the Prince might decline a battle if he chose; that the difficulties and disappointments hourly presenting themselves would embarrass persons more conversant with public business and the art of war.^a Sunderland, after his disgrace, still haunted the King. He met James at Windsor on his way to Salisbury, and was well received.^b On the King's return to London, Sunderland again appeared at court, but was now harshly spoken of by James.^c The conviction that his position was desperate forced itself upon James at last. It is said that he first consulted with a few Catholics only, who unanimously advised him to fly to France.^d This seems doubtful. According to others, he applied himself to a few lords of known zeal as Protestants, but who still adhered to the King;^e in other words, who performed the work of the Prince of Orange within the laws.^f They declined the responsibility of advising him, but suggested that he should summon all the lords spiritual and temporal within his reach. This course was adopted by him reluct-

^a Bar. au Roi, 9 Dec. 1688, Fox MSS.

^b Bar. au Roi, 1 Dec. Fox MSS.

^c Le roi s'explique durement sur son compte.

Bar. au Roi, 9 Dec. Fox MSS.

^d Sheffield D. of Buck., Account of the Rev.

^e Bur.

^f Ralph, 1049.

antly and with little hope of advantage. "He assembled them," he says, "to deprive them of the right to say, that if they had been called by the King they would have done wonders for him."^a His account of the meeting differs from the previously received version. There were present thirty or forty temporal and nine spiritual lords.^b The assembled peers, according to the general current of authorities,^c advised him to call a parliament, to treat with the Prince of Orange, to proclaim a general pardon, to remove all Catholics from office. He asked one night for deliberation, and next morning adopted their counsel, with the exception of that part which related to turning Catholics out of all employments. This he reserved for the decision of a free parliament. The King states, that having shortly addressed them on the occasion of their being assembled, he told them he had ordered writs for calling a parliament, and desired their advice; that Lords Halifax and Nottingham, especially the latter, spoke in a tone of great respect and seeming concern; that Lord Clarendon railed indiscreetly and seditiously, declaiming against popery, and blaming the personal conduct of the King; that the general opinion was in favour of treating with the Prince of Orange; and that Lords Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin were appointed commissioners. The calling of a parliament would thus appear to originate with James. This seems probable, if for no other reason than that, like all his compliances, it came too late to be of the least service to him. In point of fact, writs were issued the day after (November 28th), for calling a parliament on the 15th of January, and on the 30th proclamation was made, both of the intended meeting of parliament, and of a general pardon to all his majesty's subjects, for any act or part in favour of the Prince of Orange, since or before his landing.

The language charged upon Lord Clarendon by the King is mentioned by others. Burnet describes it as indecent, insolent, and generally condemned. There is something curiously inconsistent in this lord's party influence and pretension. He was a person of mean understanding and still meaner conduct. A glance, in passing, will suffice for an estimate of his character. After invoking God in his despair upon the calamity of beholding his son

^a MS. Mem. cited in *Life*, etc.

^b MS. Mem. cited in *Life*, etc.

^c The chief, if not only, original sources, appear to be "The History of the Deser-tion," and Henry Lord Clarendon's Diary.

a rebel,^a he wrote a letter to the Princess Anne, complimenting her upon her desertion.^b Finding that neither he nor his brother Rochester were likely to be appointed to treat on behalf of James with the Prince of Orange, he indulged in pedant wisdom and ungenerous reproaches against the unhappy fallen king; deserted next day to the Prince of Orange; was received without confidence or respect;^d had the baseness, it will be seen, to suggest that James should be sent to the Tower; continued to be neglected or despised by William; and ended in making profession of conscience, loyalty, and jacobitism. The brothers Hyde owed to James their own fortunes, and the elevation and honour of their sister. They inherited the meanness without the capacity of their father. The first Lord Clarendon, however, is chiefly indebted for his title of great to the littleness of his son and successor.

The King was embarrassed in the choice of commissioners to treat for him. His service was still an object of ambition and intrigue. This is not to be ascribed to the inherent magic of court favour, and least of all to disinterested fidelity. James was no longer worth serving, but much might be made of the opportunity to betray him. Rochester at this period was sworn of the privy council, and took his seat.^c The strife was principally between him and Halifax. With their mutual animosities, they could not be joined in the commission. Halifax had superior talent, with the support of the Dissenters, and was preferred. To conciliate the high-church party, of which Rochester was the chief, Nottingham, also of that party, and of high consideration in it, was joined with Lord Halifax. The King appointed as third commissioner Lord Godolphin, who had the dexterity or dishonesty^f to possess at the same time the confidence of James and of the Prince of Orange. He was still a cabinet minister and an officer in the household of the queen.

On the 30th of November a trumpeter was sent to the Prince, requesting passes for commissioners to treat with him on the part of the King. The commissioners themselves set out on the 2d, and were met by their passes at Reading on the 3d of December. Amesbury was appointed by the Prince as the place of meeting.

^a Diary of Henry Earl of Clarendon.

^b Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 19.

^c Lord Dartmouth, note in Bur. vol. iii. 340.

^d Narc. Lutt. Diary.

^e Bur. *ibid.*

^f Sheffield D. of Buck., vol. ii. p. 7.

Upon arriving there, they were informed that they should find his Highness at Hungerford : they accordingly faced about, and came to Hungerford, where they had a fresh disappointment. The circuitous journey from Reading, by Amesbury to Hungerford, was sufficiently contemptuous to the representatives of one who was still the King of England. On their arrival, the Prince would not see them, and appointed to treat with them Lords Oxford and Clarendon. The choice of negociators was another instance of contempt and artifice. Lord Clarendon was disregarded at all times by the Prince of Orange;* he was the known enemy of Lord Halifax, whom he was to meet ; and Lord Oxford, besides his singularities of character, had not the slightest acquaintance with business.^b The King's flag had met the Prince on his way to Oxford with the purpose of securing the whole western district. He saw that the game was now in his hands, and marched direct upon London. Time and ground were gained by him in the change of rendezvous. The King's commissioners were, moreover, called upon to give in their overtures in writing. This was both evasion and insult ; and they complied. Their memorial, if it may be so called, was given in on the 8th, and the Prince's answer returned on the 9th of December. It would be idle to remark on delays and evasions, when the negociation itself was, on the Prince's part, a mockery. He now aimed at that which could not be attained by any negociation or compromise,—the possession of the crown. His engines had for some days been in full operation, and his means were unworthy of his character.

The Prince found his chief agent in one of the King's commissioners, Lord Halifax. That nobleman was among the most accomplished persons of his day. He spoke and wrote with surpassing wit, grace, and eloquence. His style had, by anticipation, the polished ease of the age of Anne, with more vivacity and imagination. Such a man should have stood forward, for the honour of superior talents and cultivated tastes, a proud exception to the general prevalence of political perfidy and court intrigue. His reputation needs, on the contrary, all the indulgence that can be derived from the example of universal degeneracy. His uncle Shaftesbury was a more daring, Sunderland was a more corrupt,

* Dal. App. and Hal. MS.

^b Burnet names Lord Shrewsbury, while Lord Clarendon, in his Diary, mentions Marshal Schomberg as a third negociator on behalf of the Prince.

but neither was a more versatile intriguer. Shortly before the invasion, probably when Sunderland was lingering in his place, Lord Halifax had private meetings with James, and even negotiated with the priests for his return to court.^a He was no sooner appointed commissioner by the King, than he entered into communication with a confidential agent of the Prince of Orange in London. He told this agent, that he received his appointment with alarm, lest it should bring him into suspicion with the Prince. The agent replied, that he had reason to be alarmed; that his being the King's commissioner would subject him to "unhappy suspicions" of wishing to impede the designs of his Highness by a delusive negotiation, at a moment when nothing of that sort would be endured; when there was no room for trust, and every thing must be *built upon new foundations and a total change of persons.*^b Lord Halifax gave his assurance to act in such a manner as not to incur censure. The pretence of a free parliament was now thrown aside, and to prepare for the "new foundations" and "a total change of persons," it was circulated in print and conversation, that the King would not adhere to his engagements; that popish treaties were not to be relied on;^c that it would be the greatest folly to graft any thing on the old stock.^d No party means were left untried to render the religion and friends of James odious, and, what is perhaps more fatal, ridiculous. A hue and cry after Father Petre was hawked through the metropolis, and the famous Lillibullero was sung by men, women, and children, in private houses, in taverns, and in theatres. Lord Dorset is supposed to have been the author. It is unworthy of him. Without any lyric merit, it hit the popular humour, and would be forgotten by this time, even to its name, if that were not preserved in the nondescript romance of Sterne.

A spurious manifesto, entitled "Third Declaration of the Prince of Orange," was a more unwarrantable artifice. A moment's reflection would have shown that it did not proceed from the Prince. But vulgar zeal, religious party-spirit, and the populace, do not reflect; and it was soon found too useful to be contradicted. It proclaimed that all Papists found with arms in their

^a Reres. Mem.

^b Unsigned letter in Dal. App.

^c "Letter from a gentleman in York to a friend in the Prince of Orange's camp," cited in Ralph, vol. i. p. 1061.

^d Unsigned letter to the Prince of Orange. Dal. App. 337.

houses, or on their persons, or in any office or employment, should be treated as robbers, freebooters, and banditti, refused quarter, and delivered up to summary execution. It set forth that great numbers of armed Papists were assembled in London and Westminster, to destroy the Protestant inhabitants by fire or massacre. It commanded all authorities, civil and military, to disarm and secure Papists, especially in London and Westminster. It finally declared that all magistrates and others who should fail to act as required, would be treated by his Highness as the most criminal and infamous of men, betrayers of their religion and country. This terrible denunciation was circulated on all sides; copies of it were sent to the Lord Mayor and the King. The meaner, and therefore more furious champions of the Protestant religion and of the Prince of Orange, called upon magistrates to carry its contents into execution. The Catholics, the courtiers, the King himself, were panic-struck for their lives. There was the utmost danger of a massacre. This forgery was ascribed to Samuel Johnson, already named. With all his animosity to Papists, he appears to have been incapable of such a villany; and the authorship of it was claimed after a lapse of years by Speke the spy, who was at this time, by his own account, not in the camp, but in the court of the Prince. It has been said in vindication of the Prince of Orange, that he knew nothing of the concoction of this reckless forgery, and that he contradicted it as soon as its existence was made known to him. Speke, on the other hand, asserted,—but when the Prince was no longer alive to contradict him,—that he showed it to the Prince at Sherborne Castle; that the Prince was somewhat surprised, but, upon consideration, was not displeased with the thing; and that his Highness and those about him afterwards acknowledged that it did great service. Speke is unworthy of credit; but it appears, even upon the showing of the friends of the Prince, that William's disavowal was but verbal, and confined to those about him. The Prince of Orange had already the reputation of being not only a phlegmatic but an unscrupulous politician. His policy was charged by some with tolerating, by others with sharing, the practices which stimulated the populace of the Hague to massacre the patriot brothers De Witt, and give him undivided sway over the Republic. The profit which he made of this impudent and atrocious fabrication leaves an additional stain upon his character. The King and his coun-

sellors must have been infatuated or appalled, when they made no effort to punish those who had been guilty of circulating, and of attempting to carry into execution the contents of a paper, in which the Prince appeared not only to command massacre, but to usurp the powers of the crown.

The ill news from every quarter of the kingdom which hour by hour reached the King; the turbulent spirit of his enemies; the panic terror of his friends around him in the capital; the inauspicious delays, the insulting evasions, to which his commissioners were subjected by the Prince of Orange; the advance of the Prince direct upon London; made him not only meditate, but prepare for his escape from the kingdom. His first step was to order the Prince of Wales to be carried over to France. The child had been sent down to Portsmouth when the King left London for the camp at Salisbury. Lord Dover, who succeeded the Duke of Berwick in the command of the garrison, had dormant orders for him and Lord Dartmouth to take the Prince over in a yacht. It is stated by the King, that Lord Dartmouth readily undertook to execute this service when the orders were first shown to him; that he afterwards changed his own mind, and that of Lord Dover; and finally refused to let the infant Prince be carried out of the kingdom.^a "'Tis my son they aim at," says James to Lord Dartmouth, "and 'tis my son I must endeavour to preserve, whatever becomes of me. Therefore I conjure you to assist Lord Dover in getting him away in the yacht."^b The King, however, faltered in his purpose; suspended his orders, and repeated them the following day. Lord Dartmouth, at some length, and with apparent emotion, vindicates his refusal to convey or even to permit the conveyance of the heir apparent out of the kingdom, on the ground, first, of the strictness of the law against it; next, of the disastrous consequences to the nation and to the King himself.^c He accounts for his apparent acquiescence at first, when the orders of Lord Dover were shown to him, by his hope that the King would see cause to change his mind. His conduct may be differently, and much more probably, accounted for. Lord Dartmouth appears in a constant struggle to conceal from the King, and from himself, the mastery obtained over him by the officers who were in the interests of the Prince of Orange. Byng brought a letter from several officers of the fleet to

^a MS. Mem. cited in Life, etc. vol. ii. 233.

^b See his letter, Dal. App. 328.

^c Dal. App. 326.

the Prince at Sherborne, and took back a letter from him to Lord Dartmouth,^a urging the necessity of his coming over, and offering to continue him in the command, with an assurance that Herbert should not be advanced above his head. "This letter," says Byng, "had some effect on him. From that time he seemed inclinable to the Prince's party."^b The letter was laid privately by the captain of his own ship on his toilet. An admiral, who wanted the energy or authority to investigate a plot to seize his person, abstained, as might be expected, from instituting any enquiry respecting a letter which was a direct provocation to treason and desertion.

Lord Dartmouth, after the Dutch fleet had escaped him, was, as he expressed it, "at a stand what to do," and wrote to the King for further orders. James ordered him to attack the Dutch, even after they had landed their convoy. A more enterprising officer would have done this without waiting orders. Lord Dartmouth, when he received the orders, was unable to execute them, and put into Portsmouth with his fleet disabled by the weather. The officers who were engaged to the Prince of Orange, having discovered the arrival of the Prince of Wales at Portsmouth, for the purpose of being taken to France, obliged Lord Dartmouth to send out armed boats to intercept him, and themselves kept watch.^c This appears to be the true solution of the change of mind and peremptory refusal of Lord Dartmouth. He refuses to do that which was no longer in his power.

Disaffection had spread in the fleet since its arrival at Spithead. James counts amongst his sorrows, an address from the officers for a free parliament; in which they declared, he says, their resolution to stand by the Protestant religion, but not one word of standing by the King.^d As a mark of displeasure, this address was denied the honours of the Gazette. The King, under all these circumstances, not only despaired of getting away the Prince, but thought him no longer safe at Portsmouth. He accordingly had the child brought back to London with the utmost secrecy. The young Prince, it is said, narrowly escaped a party sent by the Prince of Orange to intercept him in New Forest.^e

The Prince of Wales was brought back from Portsmouth to

^a Byng, in Dal. App.

^b Byng, in Dal.

^c Life of K. James, 235, 236.

^d Ibid.

^e MS. Mem. cited in Life, vol. ii. 234.

London on the 8th of December. On the evening of the 9th, the King received, he says, the answer of the Prince of Orange to the propositions of his commissioners. Both were mere preliminaries. The King's commissioners were instructed in substance to acquaint the Prince, that his Majesty had observed that his Highness seemed to refer all matters of complaint to a free parliament; that his Majesty had some time resolved to call a parliament; and deferred it only until the times were more composed; that his Majesty, however, observing the desire of his people for a parliament; had put forth his writs and proclamation for immediately calling one; that his Majesty had authorised his three commissioners to consent to every requisite arrangement for the security and freedom of its deliberations; that, in the meantime, the respective armies should be restricted within such limits, and at such a distance from London, as would remove all apprehensions for its freedom. The King's commissioners were privately and particularly instructed by him to insist, as the first condition, that the army of the Prince of Orange should not come nearer London than thirty or forty miles; being determined, he says, if this was refused, to abandon all further negotiation and take his measures accordingly.* The answer of the Prince was conveyed in the following seven articles.

I. That all Papists, and all such persons as are not qualified by law, be disbanded and removed from all employments, civil and military.—II. That all proclamations which reflect upon us, or any that have come to us, or declared for us, be recalled; and that if any persons, for having so assisted, have been committed, they be forthwith set at liberty.—III. That, for the security and safety of the city of London, the custody and government of the Tower be immediately put into the hands of the said city.—IV. That if his Majesty shall think fit to be at London during the sitting of the parliament, that we may be there also with an equal number of our guards; or if his Majesty shall please to be in any place from London, at whatever distance he thinks fit, that we may be at a place of the same distance; and that the respective armies do remove from London thirty miles; and that no more foreign forces be brought into the kingdom.—V. That, for the security of the city of London and their trade, Tilbury Fort be put into the hands of the said city.—

* MS. Mem. cited in *Life*, vol. ii. 240.

VI. That, to prevent the landing of French or other foreign troops, Portsmouth may be put into such hands as by your Majesty and us shall be agreed upon.—VII. That some sufficient part of the public revenue be assigned us for the maintaining of our forces until the meeting of a free parliament.

Bishop Burnet states in his history, that the lords commissioners were satisfied with the answer of the Prince. He asserts further, in the Preface to a volume of his sermons, that the terms were acknowledged even by the King to be better than he expected; and on this foundation, assuming both facts as true, historians have praised the moderation of the Prince of Orange. It is astonishing that they should not rather have judged by the document itself before their eyes. The Prince not only arrogates the regal style, but demands, under the name of securities, an extent of substantive power, which would have placed him on the throne, with the King seated as a mere cipher by his side. The answer was viewed in this light by the King. He was confirmed in his resolution of sending away the Queen and Prince of Wales to France, and following them in twenty-four hours; ^a “for now,” says he, “things were come to that extremity, by the general defection of the nobility, gentry, and clergy; by the scandalous desertion of the chief officers and others in the army; as gave little reason to trust those who remained; so that no other counsel could reasonably be embraced, but to quit the kingdom with as much secrecy as he (the King) possibly could.” ^b

Such is the account given by James of the motives of his flight. Others, echoing Burnet and the pamphlets of the time, charge his resolution upon the advice of the Catholics. “Strange counsels,” says the Bishop, “were now suggested to the King and Queen; the priests and violent Papists saw a treaty was now opened; they knew that they must be the sacrifice.” ^c Burnet must have known, if he knew any thing of the designs and operations of the Prince of Orange, that the treaty on foot was a mockery on his part; and that nothing would satisfy him and his friends short of “new foundations,” and “a total change of persons,” — that is setting aside the King. The pernicious counsels of Papists to James II. are hackneyed to very disgust, without authority or evidence. It would seem as if, when Popery was the culprit, proof were superfluous.

^a MS. Mem. cited in Life, vol. ii. 241.

^b Ibid. 242.

^c Bur. vol. iii. 242.

Popery was, moreover, a sort of devoted victim, upon which the Protestant minions of James's tyranny would charge all their sins. Sunderland and Mulgrave,^a who worshipped at the altar of this very Popery, the one publicly, the other privately, would have it supposed that they were always opposed to its counsels, and they are among the authorities upon which Papists are made responsible in history for all the misdeeds of James.

The ill-fated James appears to have been distracted by the various and conflicting opinions around him: some advised that he should remain at his post and trust to events; others were adverse to his putting himself in the hands of the Prince of Orange. The Duke of Hamilton proposed that he should retire to Scotland, but with the condition of his abandoning the chancellor Perth and the Papists. Tyrconnell engaged to defend the person and maintain the cause of James in Ireland, if he were supplied with arms and ammunition.^b The Queen and the Catholics may have advised the King to withdraw himself, though there appears no direct or express evidence of the fact; there is even a denial of such advice on behalf of the Queen. Barillon having found it impossible to persuade the King to accept French aid in time,^c pressed him to take refuge in France; but Louis in reply to the dispatch of his ambassador describing the situation of James, declines advising him in his desperate fortune, and instructs Barillon to attend the King in his retreat to Ireland or Scotland,—having first secured by the promise of liberal payment the services of a lord or commoner, who should convey secret information of what was passing among the members of either or both houses.^d

The King appears to have been determined by the advice, not of the Queen, the Catholics, or Barillon, but of Lord Godolphin and Halifax, his Protestant commissioners. This is one of the meanest and most characteristic intrigues of the Revolution. Lord Godolphin, whilst on his mission to the Prince of Orange, wrote to the King his advice to withdraw for the present, assuring him that his subjects would, before a year, invite him back on their knees.^e

^a Sheffield Duke of Buckingham. Account of the Revolution.

^b Bar. au Roi, Dec. 13 et 15. Fox MSS.

^c So late as the 25th of November (N. S.) that Minister informed James that an auxiliary force of French troops was ready at Dunkirk and Calais to sail for England. Bar. au Roi, 25 Nov. 1688. Fox MSS.

^d Le Roi à Bar. 20 Dec. Fox MSS.

^e Lord Dartmouth; note in Bur. vol. iii. 245.

This is precisely the advice charged by others upon the Catholics and the Queen. It could not have been given in good faith by Lord Godolphin. His judgment was too clear, and, it may be hoped, his patriotism and humanity too strong, to hazard the disorganisation of society and government upon his speculative opinion, that restoration would be adopted as a refuge from anarchy. It has been observed, that he long before was charged with disclosing the counsels of James to the Prince of Orange. His object then must have been to remove the King out of the path of the Prince.

Lord Halifax played his part with deeper perfidy. This opinion is expressed without reference to the strange statement of Bishop Burnet, which seems, indeed, too inconsistent to be true. It should be cited, however, for the judgment of the reader. "The Marquis of Halifax," says he (on the arrival of the commissioners at Hungerford), "sent for me. But the Prince said, though he would suspect nothing from our meeting, others might; so I did not speak with him in private, but in the hearing of others. Yet he took occasion to ask me, *so as nobody observed it*, if we had a mind to have the king in our hands. I said by no means, for we would not hurt his person. He asked next, what if he had a mind to go away. I said nothing was so much to be wished for: this I told the Prince, and he approved of both my answers."

Is it credible that Lord Halifax started an overture of the blackest guilt and infamy in a room with others, in mere conversation with an inferior personage who had little credit and no discretion, and whilst he had, it has been shown, more suitable vehicles of communication with the Prince of Orange? Such a step outrages all probability when imputed to a statesman noted for his finesse. But why should Burnet invent and dramatise such a scene? It may be accounted for by his distinctive character. He appears throughout his history a subaltern partizan conscious of his inferiority, and struggling to convince others and himself that he was a personage of the first pretension. Such a man, whose vanity moreover was notoriously unscrupulous, having heard of the intrigue of Lord Halifax, would seize and mould it to his purpose as a proof of his importance, and as an episode in his history.

But the perfidy of Lord Halifax is not the less certain. It is attested by a better witness in a more consistent shape. Sir John Reresby, of whom that lord was the political and private friend, states, on the authority of a court lady, since known to, have been

Lady Oglethorpe, and of the acquiescence of Lord Halifax himself, that "after having conferred with his highness (not with Burnet), his lordship sent the King a private letter, intimating an ill design against his person, and that this was the real cause of his Majesty's flight and the departure of the Queen."^a The King has himself recorded his fears for his life. In one passage of his *Memoirs* he says, that, well remembering how his father and several of his predecessors had been used, he saw no security where he was;^b in another, that if he did not go out of the kingdom, the Prince of Orange "would probably find other means to send him out of it, and the world, too, by another way."^c

King James mentions the answer of the Prince as one of the determining causes of his sending away the Queen and Prince of Wales. It would appear from the dates, that the answer—at least the written answer—could not yet have reached him. It was placed in the hands of the commissioners at Littlecot, on the 9th of December, and the Queen went off on the night of that day. But the letter of Lord Halifax may have been received; and the delays, evasions, and continued advance of the Prince of Orange were as good evidence of his intentions as the answer itself.

The account of the Queen's departure by Father Orléans was, up to the recent publication of the *Life of James II.*, the only circumstantial one: that of the compiler from the King's *Memoirs* mainly agrees with it. Both, probably, are derived from the same source. Lauzun, noted for his amour or marriage with *Mademoiselle d'Orléans*, and the whimsical impertinence with which he was accustomed to treat the first princess of the house of Bourbon, came over to England, and offered his military services to King James. He is represented by some as a special envoy of Louis XIV.: that prince knew how to choose his envoys better. Lauzun, a frivolous courtier, sought only an escape from court disgrace and ennui. James, having no longer occasion for his military services,^d selected him to conduct the escape of the Queen. Disguised as an Italian lady returning to her country, she crossed the river from Whitehall to Lambeth, in an open boat, on a dark December night, in a storm of wind and rain, with her infant son, his nurse, Lauzun, and two persons more; stood shivering near an old church wall for an hour, until a hackney coach came up;

^a *Rer. Mem.*

^b *Ibid.* 268.

^c *MS. Mem. cited in Life*, vol. ii. 249.

^d *Life*, vol. ii. 244.

was fortunate enough to reach Gravesend undiscovered ; and there went on board a yacht, which conveyed her in safety, with a fair wind, to France. The sufferings of the Queen, in her escape from Whitehall to Gravesend, have been arrayed in the rhetorical graces of pathos and the picturesque. Her circumstances might well excite pity and meditation ; but the notion, that physical sufferings and privations are keenly felt in a great and sudden reverse, is vulgar and unfounded. When thought of at all by those who have fallen from the utmost heights, they are felt only as the accessories and signs of a reverse of fortune, not as evils in themselves.

The King promised to follow his wife and son in twenty-four hours—not, it has been said, on behalf of the Queen, because she advised, or desired his leaving the kingdom, but because she made it a condition that he should follow her, unless he allowed her to remain and share his fortunes.* From the moment of his receiving the answer of the Prince of Orange, he appears to have been impatient to quit the field, leaving behind him the sceptre of three kingdoms, to be taken up by one still more impatient to grasp it. Other circumstances added to his anxieties and fears. From treachery or oversight, a suspension of arms appears not to have been proposed or thought of by the King's commissioners. The Prince of Orange continued his march direct upon the capital. The King's troops, upon a false alarm of the advance of the Dutch, were ordered to fall back from Reading upon Maidenhead. The error being discovered, they were ordered to resume their posts next day. Meanwhile the inhabitants of Reading sent notice to the Prince's advanced posts, with the request that a detachment should be ordered forward to occupy their town. The King's troops arrived first. Colonel Lanier posted a party of Irish dragoons to defend the bridge against the Dutch, who were advancing, and ordered a Scotch regiment of horse to draw up in the market-place : he at the same time sent to Lord Feversham for a reinforcement. The Irish dragoons, having once discharged their carbines, wheeled round and fled ; the Scotch followed their example. The Irish said, in their justification, that while they defended the bridge against the Dutch, they were fired upon by the inhabitants from the houses. This again was denied by the inhabitants. But they

* Life, etc. vol. ii. 245.

who invited the King's enemies would not scruple to fire upon the King's troops from under cover. The Scotch and Irish, in their flight, were met by the General-in-chief, Lord Feversham, coming up with a reinforcement. Instead of rallying them, he covered their retreat to Maidenhead. The conduct of the King's troops, if their enemies have written truth of them, was here still more ignominious than at Reading. The inhabitants, it is said, beat a Dutch march during the night as an artifice to get rid of them, and the experiment was so successful that his Majesty's forces fled without their cannon. It is difficult to reconcile this ridiculous incident with the most ordinary military precautions in what may be called a hostile post, and in momentary expectation of the enemy. The desertion of Douglas's regiment of Scotch cavalry disappointed and grieved the King. It was one of the regiments upon whose fidelity he particularly relied. A man of more shrewdness and sagacity than James would have been deceived by the same perfidious arts; firmer nerves than his would have given way under his disappointments. He was no sooner informed, by a French messenger from Lauzun, that his wife and son were under sail, with a fair wind, than he prepared with the utmost secrecy for his own flight.

It is stated that on the 10th he summoned a council of the peers upon whose advice he had treated with the Prince of Orange; and, addressing himself to the old Earl of Bedford, said, "My lord, you are a good man, and have great influence: you can do much for me at this time." The Earl is said to have replied, "I am an old man, and can do but little;" and to have added, with a sigh, "I had once a son that could now be very serviceable to your Majesty."^a The King is represented as struck dumb and pale by this bitter reminiscence, and the situation in which he stood. There are few scenes in history or fiction so morally dramatic. The answer assigned to the father of Lord Russel would seem the retribution of heaven in its justice upon a tyrant who had shed patriot blood. But, unfortunately, there is no good evidence that a council was held on that day; and the Earl of Bedford, sinking under his years and sorrows, had retired from public affairs. The statement, that, to divert suspicion from his intended departure, on the night of the 10th the King summoned an extraor-

^a Bar. au Roi. Dal. App.

^b It is scarcely necessary to say that the son alluded to is supposed to have been sacrificed in the preceding reign to the vengeance of James Duke of York.

inary council, to meet on the morning of the 11th, is more probable, and better attested.^a It is said that, with the same view, he declared publicly his intention to return to the head of his army, and that his guards had orders to meet him at Uxbridge.^b The intrigue of Lord Halifax had put him in such fear for his life, that he concealed, with the utmost jealousy, the very movement which his enemies most desired he should make.

All can be wise and brave after the event. The fears of James for his personal safety should be estimated with a reference to his actual position. His life may be imagined in peril from two quarters: those who had invited or adhered to the Prince of Orange, and that Prince himself. If it became a question with the former whether they should be prosecuted in the King's name under the 25th of Edward III., or the King should be prosecuted in the name of the nation, according to the precedent made in the case of his father, it can hardly be supposed that even the Bishop of London would not have found reasons for preferring the alternative. If the existence of James presented itself as a bar to the ambition of the Prince of Orange, can it be supposed for a moment that the most aspiring of politicians and most phlegmatic of Dutchmen would have seen, in his wife's father, any thing but a political unit of human life? The Princess of Orange, indeed, is said to have obtained from her husband, when setting out upon his expedition, a promise that he would respect the life of her father. This promise might easily be evaded,—it may even never have been given or asked; and the daughter of James, in writing to her husband respecting the fate of her unfortunate father, after the battle of the Boyne, could find no kinder or more filial designation for him than that of "the late king."^c A man in James's position, who was both prudent and brave, would, like him, have seen his danger; but, unlike him, would have faced it. It is mentioned, as a proof of the violence of his distrusts and fears, that he concealed his purpose from Lord Dover, a Catholic;^d but Lord Dover, by his want of success or of fidelity in the affair of carrying the Prince of Wales to France, had lost his confidence. Lord Mulgrave came into the King's apartment just as he was stepping into bed. The King, who, according to the chamberlain, would not trust so sound a Protestant, whispered him that "he had a very hopeful account

^a Reresby's Memoirs.

^b Life of King William.

^c Letter of the Queen to King William, Dal. App.

^d Life of King William.

of some good accommodation with the Prince of Orange." Lord Mulgrave asked, in reply, whether the Prince's army halted or advanced. The King owned they still marched on : upon which the chamberlain, by his own account, shook his head with a dejected countenance.^a All this may be true ; but the courtiers were now as eager to repudiate, as they had hitherto been to obtain, the confidence of the King.

On the morning of the 11th, the King's antechamber was crowded with lords and gentlemen, waiting to attend his levee. The Duke of Northumberland, lord in waiting, opened the door at the usual hour, and the company rushed in. To their astonishment and consternation, the King's chamber was empty. He had gone away, by a private passage, at one o'clock in the morning, leaving orders with the Duke not to open his door before the usual time. The Duke of Northumberland was more a Protestant than the lord chamberlain;^b and his brother, the Duke of Grafton, had deserted; yet James trusted him. It is the only instance in which his confidence was not betrayed by his own kindred. His orders were obeyed, and his secret kept. It can hardly be charged upon the Duke of Northumberland as desertion that, in the course of that very day, he tendered his services to the Prince of Orange.

The King, to embarrass his enemy, while he abandoned the field, cancelled the patents for the new sheriffs,^c with the writs issued for calling a parliament, and took away the great seal. He vainly imagined that there was some inherent power, not only in his person, but in the mere symbol of his will. Kings seldom reflect that their great seals are but so much wax, and their persons but ciphers, when no longer supported by the will of a nation or by hireling force. He addressed, at the same time, a letter to Lord Feversham, announcing his departure from the kingdom; declaring that, if he could have relied on his troops, he would have had "at least one blow for it;" reminding that lord that he and the other general officers had told him it was nowise advisable that he should venture himself at the head of the army; thanking all those who had remained faithful to him; informing them that he no longer expected they should expose themselves by resisting a foreign army and poisoned nation; and expressing his hope that, till better times,

^a Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham. Account of the Rev.

^b Mulgrave pretended to be a secret convert to the King's religion. He openly professes deism in his works. ^c Lutt. Diary.

they would persevere in their fidelity. The letter was read at the head of about 4000 men, whom Lord Feversham had under his command at Uxbridge, and is said to have been heard by them with tears.

Two courses were open to Lord Feversham,—to disband the King's troops, or bring them over to the Prince of Orange. Having submitted the King's letter to a council of war, he adopted the former, and provoked the displeasure of the Prince by so rare and mischievous an example of military honour. He addressed a letter to the Prince of Orange, stating his having disbanded the troops by the King's command. The Prince took no other notice of this letter than observing to those about him that he was not to be so dealt with. It may be said that Lord Feversham should have disarmed as well as disbanded them; and this is the only offence with which he is chargeable. He may have thought to serve King James, and embarrass the Prince of Orange; or he may have thought it, as it would have been, inhuman to dismiss, not only without means to sustain, but without arms to defend, their lives, men who were odious,—some for their religion, others for their country, and all for their fidelity,—in what may be called an enemy's country. Again, is it likely that the officers and men would surrender their arms, and for the use of the Prince of Orange? The troops might complain of being dismissed, without pay or provision for their subsistence,—the people of having armed, destitute, and ungoverned men let loose upon them; but the Prince had as yet no right to command obedience, and threaten the penal justice of the realm. It is true, the nation allowed itself to be disposed of by a handful of foreigners; but even conquest did not give him the right to punish Lord Feversham for obeying the orders of one who was still his sovereign by the laws.

The report of the King's flight was no sooner spread through London, than the rabble attacked and plundered Catholic chapels, the houses of Catholics, and the residences of Catholic ambassadors. That of the Florentine envoy was sacked and burned. Even the residence of the Spanish minister, Ronquillo, a known friend of the Prince of Orange, was not spared. He, however, received an honourable reparation. Lord Mulgrave, though the King his master was gone, and his staff of chamberlain laid aside, thought it for the honour of the nation to order the ambassador apartments and a table at Whitehall, with great pomp of attendance, and was

thanked for this bold exercise of discretion by both the Prince of Orange and the King.^a The Prince, after his accession, obtained the Spaniard a grant of 17,000*l.* to reimburse his losses, or as a gratification for his share in obtaining the recognition of King William by the whole house of Austria.^b The chief sufferers were the more opulent Catholics : they had placed their valuable effects for safety under the protection of the foreign ministers. The residence of the Spanish minister would have been respected, if it were not known to the mob that the plate of the royal chapel was deposited there.^c Van Citters, in his correspondence with the States, alleges another motive. Don Pedro Ronquillo, he says, was obnoxious to the populace from his being in debt to every body and paying nobody.^d The French and Venetian ministers were protected by a military guard.

No blood appears to have been shed, though the rioters professed to be actuated by religious zeal. The reason may be, that they were really instigated by the milder love of plunder. Several persons, variously obnoxious for their virtues, their religion, their subserviency to the court, or their crimes, were seized by the populace and dragged before magistrates. Among them were William Penn, Judge Jenner, Graham and Burton, court lawyers, the Catholic bishops Leyburn and Gifford, the Jesuit Fulton, and the convert Doctor Obadiah Walker. Lord Melford, as well as Father Petre, had already reached France, and Lord Sunderland was seized at Rotterdam, disguised in woman's clothes. Of those obnoxious for their crimes, Jeffreys alone fell into the hands of the rabble. The rest had either concealed themselves, or atoned, like Kirk, for their guilty services to James, by betraying and deserting him. The inhuman Jeffreys was seized in the disguise of a sailor, with his eyebrows shaved, at Wapping. A scrivener, whom he had once made feel the terrors of his power and his visage, recognised him in his disguise whilst looking out of a window, according to some, whilst drinking in a public house, according to others. Jeffreys cried piteously for mercy; and though frightened and maltreated, obtained more mercy from the rabble than he had ever shown to the innocent from the bench. He was first dragged before the lord mayor, who is said to have died of the shock of beholding him; and then committed to the Tower, where he soon

^a Sheffield, D. of Buck. Account of the Rev.

^b MS. Mem. cited in Life, etc.

^c Id. *ibid.*

^d Lett. of Van Cit. Dec. 7.

closed his horrid life by drunkenness, or through a chronic disease. Lords Peterborough and Salisbury, converts to the church of Rome, were seized and committed to the Tower. Bills of indictment were found against the latter for the crime of high treason in turning papist. The papal nuncio was discovered at Gravesend, escaping in disguise behind the carriage of the minister of Savoy. Lord Winchelsea, with his authority of lord lieutenant of the county, could not rescue him from the mob, and sent notice of his peril to the Spanish ambassador. That minister sent an express to the Prince of Orange, who, being roused from his sleep at midnight, sent back such a passport as enabled the nuncio to depart in the train of the minister of the Duke of Savoy.

One of the most awful and most groundless instances of panic terror on record now took momentary possession of men's imaginations. A cry was raised that the disbanded Irish soldiers were destroying all before them by fire and sword. Drums were beat through the streets of London and Westminster to give notice of the coming enemy. Lights were placed in the windows, the better to descry them; the people in each quarter imagined the next in flames or streaming with blood. The ringing of bells carried the news with telegraphic rapidity to the furthest corners of Great Britain. The inhabitants of each town or village imagined the Irish burning the houses and cutting the throats of their next neighbours. Pregnant women were frightened to premature childbirth; aged and infirm persons died of terror; the Protestants every where stood armed upon their guard, and resolved upon the first sign of attack or danger to destroy all Papists and Irish within their reach. Happily no accidental or imaginary circumstance suggested the idea of immediate attack, and the nation escaped a crime which would rank in atrocity, if not in malice, with the massacre of Paris on St. Bartholomew's eve.

It is doubtful even to this day whether the alarm was accidental or contrived; where it began, and on what day it was spread in London. The dates of the 11th, the 12th, and the 13th of December are variously assigned.* A MS. private letter of the time assigns the night of the 12th.^b Its source is equally mysterious: the most common account is, that it began at Westminster with some peasants, who had just come in from the country. The

* By Oldmixon, Echard, Life of King William, Hist. of Descr., and Kennet.
^b Sawyer's News letters, etc.

accidental firing of a cottage by half a dozen starving Irish soldiers in a fray with some country people is mentioned as its origin. According to others, it originated in the cabinet of the Prince of Orange; and the peasants who brought it to Westminster were sent by Marshal Schomberg, with the purpose of exciting an alarm of danger, rendering James, his religion, and his adherents still more odious, and thus preparing for the more popular reception of the Prince.* Finally, the notorious Speke, who appropriated the spurious declaration in the name of the Prince of Orange, had the hardihood to claim, also, the nefarious authorship of this rumour.^b The claim made by Speke proves nothing more than his own infamy. Political rancour and zeal for the unfortunate king naturally charged an odious contrivance upon the Prince of Orange, and contemporary calumny has been echoed without scruple by Jacobites in succeeding times. There appears not the slightest ground for this particular imputation upon the Marshal and the Prince; and the probability is that the rumour was purely accidental. Two circumstances have been relied on as proofs that it was premeditated; the inadequacy of the accidental cause assigned,—that is, the burning of a cottage,—and the astonishing rapidity with which it travelled over the island. But the lightest cause will agitate masses of men where their minds are predisposed and their passions excited, and the popular imagination would circulate its chimeras with a velocity far exceeding all systematic contrivance.

This crisis of the Revolution is instructive when contemplated from the present day. There cannot be a better standard of the advance of popular intelligence and independence. There was then, even in the capital, no public spirit, no democracy, no people, no magistracy, worthy or conscious of its mission. All power was divided between the aristocracy and the rabble. When upon the King's flight the populace began the work of plunder and devastation, the citizens and their magistrates were alike supine. No association was formed, no meeting was held, no individual, either in a private or magisterial capacity, stood forward to rally the industrious and orderly classes for self-protection, upon the sudden dissolution of the government and of society itself. It is easy to imagine what would now take

* Sheffield, D. of Buck., *Account of the Revolution*.

^b See *Hist. of Rev. in Som. Tr.* vol. xi.

place in London upon a similar emergency. A municipal government would start up in perfect vigour before an hour's lapse. It was not so in 1688. The city might have been fired and pillaged, if the lords spiritual and temporal had not stepped into the breach and restored order. They met at Guildhall, with the intention of consulting with the lord mayor and other magistrates. Finding these unequal to the emergency and to their station, this extraordinary council commanded instead of consulting them. By a still more resolute assumption of power it sent off orders to the army and to the fleet, and its commands in every instance produced submission and peace.^a The Tower was in possession of Skelton, appointed governor by the king. He was invited to attend at Guildhall, and upon his compliance with this artful manœuvre was deprived of his command. The lieutenancy was given to Lord Lucas, who happened to be quartered there with his company. To remove the fears and complete the security of the citizens, the council took the further precaution of disarming all Papists, and issuing warrants to apprehend all popish priests and Jesuits within the limits of London and Westminster. But the most important and memorable act of this self-constituted government was a declaration, by which, without verifying or inquiring into facts or motives, it virtually renounced King James, and applied to the Prince of Orange. In this declaration the lords and bishops impute the King's departure to popish counsels, and unanimously resolve to resort to the Prince; who, they say, "out of pure kindness incurred vast expense and much hazard to his person, in order to rescue them from popery and slavery." It will be remembered, that Lords Godolphin and Halifax, and not the Papists, were the chief authors of the King's flight. The Prince, it may be added, took care to reimburse his vast expense by the payment of principal and interest to the Dutch; and the crown of three kingdoms was well worth the personal hazards of one of the most contemptible of campaigns. The declaration, though unanimous, was not carried without warm debates.^b Archbishop Sancroft was present, and signed it, but absented himself from all the subsequent meetings which were held at Whitehall.

The Prince meanwhile was at Henley, receiving addresses, and

^a Sheffield, D. of Buck., Account of the Rev.

^b D'Oyley's Life of Sancroft.

issuing his decrees. No doubt was entertained that the King was by this time withdrawn beyond the realm. "In the Prince of Orange's army," says Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, "the nation was looked on as their own." The Prince himself assumed the tone and powers of the supreme chief of the state. The declaration of the council of peers at Guildhall was forwarded to him by a deputation of four of its members, Earl Pembroke, Viscount Weymouth, Lord Culpepper, and the Bishop of Ely. This was followed by a fulsome address from the city of London, returning the deepest thanks of the citizens to the Divine Majesty for his miraculous success, and humbly beseeching him to vouchsafe to repair to their capital city. The adhesions of courtiers, military officers, and country gentlemen crowded upon him. The highways were thronged with persons coming to tender their services and solicit his commands. On the 13th of December, before the manifesto of the council of peers at Guildhall had yet reached him, he issued the following sovereign order "from his court at Henley," under the name and disguise of a declaration: —

"Whereas we are informed, that divers regiments, troops, and companies have been encouraged to disperse themselves in an unusual and unwarrantable manner, whereby the public peace is very much disturbed; we have thought fit hereby to require all colonels and commanders-in-chief of such regiments, troops, and companies, by beat of drum, or otherwise, to call together the several officers and soldiers belonging to their respective regiments, troops, and companies, in such places as they shall find most convenient for their rendezvous, and there to keep them in good order and discipline. And we do likewise direct and require all such officers and soldiers forthwith to repair to such places as shall be appointed for that purpose by the respective colonels and commanders-in-chief, whereof special notice is to be given unto us for our further orders."

The Prince, it will be observed, by describing the disbanded troops as "encouraged to disperse themselves," etc. disputes the authority of the King's orders. It is said that he took umbrage because the lords at Guildhall did not directly invite him to assume the powers of government, instead of proposing as they did to support and co-operate with him. He, however, chose to under-

stand it in the former sense; and Bishop Burnet, to justify him, had the boldness to call it "an invitation to him to come and take the government of the nation into his hands." On the 14th the Prince of Orange moved his court from Henley to Windsor.

James, like all tyrants and most kings, considered the nation as made for his use; he, therefore, did not scruple to leave his people in a state of anarchy, with the selfish purpose of embarrassing his rival, and deriving advantage from public confusion. There were now two self-constituted provisional governments; the lords at Whitehall, and the Prince of Orange, with his conclave of lords and gentlemen, at Windsor. They acted without subordination, concert, or collision. An unexpected incident soon interfered with their functions, and gave a new turn to their proceedings. News came that the King was still in England, a prisoner in the hands of the rabble of a small fishing town within a short distance of his capital.

CHAPTER XVII.

The King seized at Feversham.—His Return to Whitehall.—The Dutch Troops march upon the Capital.—Second and final Departure of the King.—Entry of the Prince of Orange into London.—The Peers summoned by him.—Reception and Conduct of James II. in France.

THERE are various narratives, by professed eye-witnesses and others, of the first flight of James II., his detention at Feversham, and his return to Whitehall in momentary triumph. His own account of his adventures, from his first flight to his final escape, is circumstantial, and may be regarded as authentic.^a It exists in MS. in the French archives, as given with his own hand to the community of nuns founded at Chaillot, near Paris, by Queen Henrietta, his mother.^b There is in his narrative little bitterness,

^a See Appendix.

^b It appears to be an extract from the King's MS. Memoirs, translated into French for the use of the nuns. There is a copy among the papers of the late Sir J. Mackintosh. Nearly the whole of the same passage is cited by the compiler of the Life of James II.

and no apparent exaggeration. He rather understates, as compared with other accounts, the outrages offered to him, and negatives by implication the theatric recognitions of his person, the sudden transitions from gross ribaldry to genuflections and tears, and the royal munificence with which he has been represented to have allowed the plunderers to retain 400 guineas of which they had robbed him, demanding only the restitution of his jewels.

The King chose Sir Edward Hales for the companion of his flight. They left Whitehall at one in the morning of Tuesday, the 11th of December (O. S.), and crossed in a small boat from Privy Gardens to Vauxhall, as the Queen had done. The King, whilst crossing over, threw the great seal into the Thames.* Sheldon, one of the King's equerries, having provided relays of horses, they reached Feversham about ten in the morning, and embarked in a custom-house hoy, which Sir Edward Hales had hired to take them to France. The King, Hales, and Sheldon, went on board; the wind was fair, but it blew so strong a gale that the master of the vessel would not venture to sea without more ballast. The King, himself a good seaman, agreed with the master, and they ran ashore, for the purpose of taking in ballast, at the western end of Sheppy, intending to get under weigh at half flood. The commander of the hoy all this time knew not whom he had on board. About eleven at night the vessel was afloat once more and about to sail away, when a band of between fifty and sixty armed freebooters approached them in three Feversham fishing-boats. All Protestants were licensed to chase priests and Papists as their proper prey by sea and land. It was taken up as a sort of trade, especially by the fishermen on the river, and in the ports opposite to France. A Feversham party of this description boarded the King's hoy; their captain, named Ames, jumped into the cabin and seized the King, with his two companions, as suspected Papists. Sir Edward Hales put fifty guineas into his hand, and whispered him that he should have a hundred more if he procured them an opportunity to escape. He took the money, promised to do what was required of him, said he should go ashore for the purpose; and, when leaving the vessel, advised them to give him their money and other valuable effects, as his comrades were persons very capable of rifling them whilst he was away. They accordingly gave him their money and

* It was found by a waterman soon after the Revolution.

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 watches. He failed to come back, and his comrades justified his opinion of them. A party of them rushed into the cabin, said that their prisoners had not given all to the captain, insisted on searching, and did search them, especially, according to the account of an eyewitness, the unfortunate King, with the utmost rudeness and ribaldry.* One called him "a hatchet-faced Jesuit," and another said he knew him by his lank jaws to be Father Petre. The King had concealed about his person the Queen's diamond bodkin and his coronation ring. This valuable prize escaped them. With all their insolence and rapacity they made but a careless search, and were so ignorant that they returned the King a pair of diamond buckles, supposing them to be glass.

The captain did not return until broad daylight on the morning of the 18th, and then not to contrive their escape, but to take them before a magistrate. Sir Edward Hales was now recognised for the first time, but the King was still unknown. A hackney-coach having been brought to the water-side, they were conveyed in it to an inn. The King states that, finding he was known, notwithstanding his plain coat and black wig, soon after he arrived at the inn, he took no further trouble to conceal himself. But his state of mind may be presumed to have been such, as to render him incapable of recording, or remembering with exactness, his own demeanour, or what was passing around him. According to the letter before cited, he tried every art to conceal himself: he called for the commonest refreshments, to give the idea of his being but a common man; but he soon found that he was known, and was terrified to distraction by the rude clamour of the populace. Having obtained pen, ink, and paper, he wrote, tore, wrote again; and at last addressed a note to Lord Winchelsea, the lord-lieutenant of the county. The writer of the letter professes to have had a conversation with him on his arrival at the inn. According to him the King complained of groundless fears and jealousies, and of "the ill offices done him by the black coats;" insisted on the honesty of his intentions, the purity of his conscience, his readiness to suffer and die; declared that he read and found comfort in the Scriptures; that he never meant to oppress conscience or destroy the subject's liberty; and asked the person whom he addressed, what errors he had committed—what he had done to bring him to his actual situa-

* Private letter in Tindall's continuation of *Rapin*.

tion. He next charged the Prince of Orange with seeking not only his crown but his life, and entreated "every churchman and layman in the room" to get him a boat and let him escape, or "his blood would be upon their heads." The populace became still more outrageous, from the fear of his prevailing with those about him to procure his escape. He then tried to obtain his liberty from the rabble themselves, by addressing them at one moment in a tone of abject entreaty, the next moment in the language of reproach and authority as their King. During three hours, he went through a melancholy round of remonstrating, threatening, promising, and imploring, in all the infirmity of distress and fear, and was at last treated by the very populace with such familiar scorn, that some of the more respectable persons present requested Sir Edward Hales to divert him from a course of language and demeanour which exposed him to contempt. Lord Winchelsea came in haste, and had some difficulty to prevail on the multitude to permit the King's removal from the inn to a private house. He was conducted, or dragged on foot, through the dirty streets of Feversham, with the rabble shouting in his ears and pressing upon his person. On his arrival, he at one moment wept; the next he was cheerful; he talked of the virtues of St. Winifred's Well, and of his having lost a piece of the wood of the true cross, which had belonged to Edward the Confessor. His mind was evidently broken down."

Next morning, two captains of militia, named Dixwell and Oxendon, came with their respective companies, not to release him from the hands of the populace, but to recommend themselves to the Prince of Orange by securing his person. The fishermen, who constituted the greater part of his rabble guard, confined him with still more rigour, and made his apartment their guard-room. None approached him but with their permission, and unarmed.

After an unaccountable lapse of time, the news of his situation reached the two provisional governments. The militia captains sent a lawyer, named Nappleton, to acquaint the Prince of Orange with the service which they were rendering him, and to receive his commands. He was referred to Dr. Burnet, on his arrival at

* "She (a great court lady) further imparted to me, that the King was so terribly possessed of his danger, and so deeply affected when the Princess Anne went away, that it disordered him in his understanding, but that he recovered pretty well on his return." Reresby's Memoirs.

Windsor, late in the night. "Why," said the Doctor, with much displeasure, "did you not let him go?" Nappleton replied, "Would you have him torn in pieces by the mob?" The Prince was in bed. Bentinck awoke him; "and Zuylistein," says Bishop Burnet, "was ordered by the Prince to go immediately to Feversham, and to see the King safe and at full liberty to go whithersoever he pleased." It will presently appear that Zuylistein was not sent, as stated by the Bishop; and that the Prince of Orange was disturbed in his sleep to no purpose.

The King, at the same time, contrived to send the news of his distress to London. His messenger, a poor countryman, came to Whitehall, and waited long at the council-chamber door before any person would attend to him.^a Halifax was president of the council of peers which sat there. Upon learning the arrival of a letter from the King, announcing his detention, that lord is accused of instantly adjourning the meeting.^b But Mulgrave being also secretly informed, implored the lords to resume their seats for a moment, and hear a communication of the last importance, admitting of no delay. The want of time to concert an evasion, joined with a sense of shame, made them hear what he had to say, and call in the messenger. The poor countryman delivered a letter, without address, which James charged him to give to any persons who would come forward to save him, and described, with tears, the wretched situation of the King. The letter merely acquainted the reader with his captivity in the hands of an insolent rabble at Feversham. Mulgrave impressed upon the lords the barbarity of conniving at the rabble's tearing in pieces one who, with all his popery, was still their sovereign. They ordered Lord Feversham, with 200 of the guards, to rescue him and to protect his retreat, if he persisted in his resolution. Such is, in substance, the version of what passed at the council given by Lord Mulgrave, who was himself a chief actor in the scene. According to other accounts, the council deputed Lords Feversham, Aylesbury, Yarmouth, and Middleton, to invite him back.^c "It was," says Burnet, "left to his (the King's) general, the Earl of Feversham, to do what he thought best, so he went for him with his coaches and guards." The compiler from the King's MS. Memoirs says expressly, that "they (the lords sitting at White-

^a Sheffield, D. of Buck., Account of the Revolution.

^b Id. *ibid*.

^c Hist. of Deser. Life of K. William. Echard, Kennet, Reresby.

hall) thought fit to request his Majesty to return." ^a The King, in his account, is less explicit. The rumour of his detention, he says, brought to Feversham several of his immediate servants, and of the military officers who remained faithful to him. Some of the latter brought him word that Lord Feversham was coming with a detachment of the guards and horse grenadiers, to rescue him from the populace and escort him to London, "whither," says the King, "his Majesty's friends desired that he should come."

On Saturday morning, the 15th of December, Lord Feversham arrived, and informed the King that he had left his detachment at Sittingbourne. The troops remained behind to prevent a collision with the armed mob of fishermen, who had sworn vengeance against the guards, Lord Feversham, and other persons whom they disliked, if they should present themselves. ^b It is stated by the compiler from the Memoirs, that Lord Middleton joined the King upon the news of his captivity. The most probable inference from both the variances and coincidences in these several versions seems to be, that the council at Whitehall sent Lord Feversham and his detachment to rescue the King, and protect him, in the exercise of his own discretion, to depart or return; and that the other lords went not as deputies, but as individual volunteers, to advise his coming back. Lord Winchelsea, it is said, had already convinced him of the prudence of returning to London, calling round him his friends, and negotiating with the Prince of Orange. ^c

The King, however advised or influenced, left Feversham for London on the morning of the 15th. The Kentish gentlemen, who thought to make their base court to the Prince of Orange by securing him, now trembled at the vengeance of their sovereign. ^d They escaped punishment, but were disappointed of their expected reward. Even Nappleton, their messenger, who appears, by the way, to have executed his mission in a spirit of generous humanity, was ever after regarded with an evil eye for his share in the embarrassment produced to the actual ruler and future king by the momentary re-appearance of King James. ^e

The great object of the freebooters of Feversham, next to plunder, appears to have been that the King should not leave England. They thought their own lives compromised if they al-

^a Life, etc. vol. ii. 260.

^b Letter before cited.

^c Ralph, vol. ii. 1068.

^d French MS. account by K. James. See App.

^e Kennet.

lowed his escape after they had once seized him.^a Being assured on this point, they consented to yield him up to the two captains of militia, who in their turn were relieved at Sittingbourne by the detachment of guards. The King, having arrived at Rochester, sent forward Lord Feversham with a credential letter to the Prince of Orange, proposing an interview in London on the following Monday, to settle, as he expressed it, the distractions of the nation, and inviting his Highness to occupy the Palace of St. James's. Lord Feversham had orders to execute his commission so expeditiously as to meet the King at Whitehall on the following day. The King next morning continued his journey to town, passed through the city, and, to his surprise, was received with every demonstration of popular enthusiasm. Crowds of people and acclamations of joy, it has been said, attended upon him to his very bedchamber at Whitehall. That he was received with popular shouts is proved by many concurrent testimonies. There is nothing extraordinary in the fact. It may have been a compassionate reaction in favour of a criminal but ill-fated fallen king. The popular humour is variable to a proverb; and the rabble,—a monster with many heads,—has also many voices.

Whitehall was never more crowded than on the return of James. His household officers and domestics resumed their badges of service and their duties; his apartments were filled with courtiers impatient to do him homage. "Even the Papists," says Bishop Burnet, "crept out of their lurking holes, and appeared at court with much assurance."^b The palace, according to others, was crowded with priests, Jesuits, and Irishmen.^c It was, doubtless, a very criminal assurance in these proscribed castes to think they might breathe the air of the court and of freedom, and very presumptuous in the disbanded Irish officers to tender their service and their swords once more to their lawful sovereign. But the assertion seems exaggerated, if not groundless. A priest indeed is said to have imperiously required the chamberlain, Lord Mulgrave, to refit his apartments in the palace.^d Neither this assertion, nor the general allegation which it is meant to illustrate, receive the slightest countenance from the chamberlain himself;^e and no one priest, Papist, or Irishman, is named. The unhappy spirit

^a Letter in Tindall.

^b Bur. vol. iii. p. 353.

^c Hist. of Deser.

^d Hist. of Deser. Echard, Oldmixon, etc.

^e Sheffield, D. of Buck., Account of the Revolution.

of Protestant bigotry, contumely, and calumny, with which the Catholics are treated in the contemporary and subsequent histories of the Revolution, can hardly be perused by liberal Protestants at the present day without a compound feeling of pity and disgust. It was made a crime in the King himself that "he began to take heart."^a His discharging from Newgate and from the warrant of the rabble the popish Bishop Leyburn, whose only crime was his popery and priesthood, has been urged as decisive proof of his inveterate purpose to force popery upon the consciences of his Protestant subjects.

It seems, however, that the shouts of the populace, and the homage of the courtiers, both equally treacherous, raised the spirits of the King, and made him rebuke those of his friends who had sat in the Whitehall council of government. But his courage and his hopes soon vanished. He was not long at Whitehall, when, instead of being met as he expected by Lord Feversham, Count Zuylistein came to him with a letter from the Prince of Orange. The Prince acknowledged the receipt of the King's letter brought by Lord Feversham; said the contents and the verbal propositions brought by that lord were of too much consequence to be then replied to; and expressed his desire that the King should remain at Rochester. The King answered, with all humility, that if he had received the Prince's message at Rochester, he would have remained there; but, as it had happened otherwise, he hoped the Prince would come next day to St. James's, in order that they might confer together on the subject of his communication through Lord Feversham. Zuylistein replied, that he was well assured the Prince would not come to London until the King's troops were all withdrawn; and the King "seeing," says the compiler of the life, "that the Prince's messages now assumed the air of commands, not of requests," placed his answer to the Prince's letter in the hands of Zuylistein. But Zuylistein had no sooner left the King's presence than the Count de Roze came in to say, that Lord Feversham, upon presenting the King's letter, was imprisoned at Windsor Castle by the Prince of Orange. The King immediately ordered Zuylistein to be called back; expressed to him the surprise with which he learned that Lord Feversham, a public envoy, had been imprisoned, in violation of the law and practice

^a Bar. vol. iii. p. 353.

^b Sheffield, D., of Buck., Account of the Revolution.

of nations; and said he hoped the Prince, out of consideration for him, as well as respect for public faith, would release his minister. The Prince of Orange neither released Lord Feversham, nor took any other notice of the letter of the King.

It should be observed here, that no step was really taken by the Prince of Orange upon the communication made by Nappleton of the King's detention at Feversham and the peril of his life; that Count Zuylistein was not sent until Lord Feversham had arrived with the King's letter at Windsor; and that the transaction seriously compromises the credit of Bishop Burnet and the humanity of William III. According to all the historians of the Revolution, Zuylistein lost his way, and thus missed the King. One account states that he overtook the King at Somerset House.^a But it seems much more probable, that Zuylistein, instead of losing his way, had come direct from Windsor, when he met the King in the Strand. Lord Feversham must have travelled all Saturday night to reach Windsor from Rochester on Sunday morning. Zuylistein, therefore, who did not leave Windsor until the King's letter and Lord Feversham had arrived there, instead of losing his way in Kent, had barely time to meet the King on his arrival on Sunday in the capital. As to the imprisonment of Lord Feversham, his coming without a pass is a weak pretence. He was accredited by the King: his real crime was his obeying the King's order, by disbanding the army without asking leave of the Prince of Orange, and his share in the embarrassing return of his unfortunate master. This imprisonment was not a simple exercise of the right of conquest: it was tyrannical.

The scene at Whitehall soon began to shift: the King dates the change from the arrival of Zuylistein.^b Confiding in the applause which had greeted him on his passage through the city, he sent a message to two aldermen, Sir T. Stamps and Sir S. Lewis, offering to place himself in the hands of the aldermen and common council, until he should have given satisfaction and security to his people for their religion and liberties in a free parliament, upon their guaranteeing on their part the safety of his person. His proposal was rejected through the influence of Alderman Clayton, on the ground

^a "Gr. Br. Just Complaint," by Sir J. Montgomery.

^b "Mais le Roi n'y fut pas long-temps sans voir changer la scène; car incontinent après son arrivée M. de Zuylistein lui apporta une lettre du Prince d'Orange." See App.

that the city could not give the guarantee required.^a The King summoned a privy council in the evening: only eight members attended it; these were the Duke of Hamilton, Lords Craven, Berkeley, Middleton, Preston, and Godolphin, Trevor (Master of the Rolls), and Titus. The only result was a proclamation for suppressing tumultuary outrages. It appeared in the Gazette, and was King James's last act of sovereignty in England. Thus, it has been said, the last breath of James's expiring power was given to popery and papists. It should be added that he protected them only from violence and plunder. But his protection was vain: his authority began to be despised. The officers of the exchequer would not honour his draughts unless countersigned by the Prince of Orange. Lord Bellasis, as already stated, refused to lend him a thousand pounds,^b and he was reduced to the humiliation of borrowing a hundred guineas of Lord Godolphin, for among other purposes that of touching for the King's evil!^c It may be said, that the man who would employ time and money for so foolish a purpose was unfit to rule a nation. But reigning princes are not selected for their wisdom of their virtues, or selected at all. James II. was really one of the less despicable princes of his time, and the mass of the people in all countries were as low in the scale of reason and knowledge as their sovereigns.

Windsor Castle, meanwhile, was the scene of fear and ferment. The shouts of joy and show of welcome which attended the King startled his enemies.^d The Prince of Orange, astonished by the sudden change, and alarmed by the inconstant genius of the English people,^e desired the advice of the principal persons around him.^f Harsh and violent measures were proposed. One proposition was to send the King a prisoner to Breda. Lord Clarendon is accused of having strongly urged his being confined there as a hostage for the safety of the Irish Protestants and submission of Tyroconnel. According to others, that Jacobite lord advised sending King James to the Tower;^g and "hinted at something further."^h The Prince of Orange, according to Burnet, allowed that those counsels might be "good and wise," but rejected them from deference to the Princess his wife; and also, because they might have a bad

^a "Gr. Br. Just Complaint." Life of K. James, vol. ii. 271.

^b Hal. MS.

^c State Tracts, vol. i. Reign Will. III.

^d Sheffield, D. of Buck., Account of the Rev.

^e Life of K. James.

^f Sheffield, D. of Buck. Bur. vol. iii. p. 354.

^g Conduct of the Duchess of Marl.

^h Sheffield, D. of Buck.

effect upon the parliament. The spirit of party and of religion must surely have made Rapin belie his knowledge of the character of William, when he says that Prince rejected them with indignation. The Prince of Orange preferred holding the King to his avowed purpose of withdrawing from the realm. Burnet's words are so frankly or unwittingly characteristic of a transaction which proved one of the great hinges of the Revolution, that they should be cited: — "It was thought necessary," says he, "to stick to the point of the King's deserting his people, and not to give up that by entering upon any treaty with him;" in other words, it was determined to drive the King by artful menace, and the display of force, into a desertion of his people, and dethrone him for that forced desertion, as for his voluntary act, inspired by the popery of his counsellors and his own. James II., by assuming a power above the laws, assuredly incurred the penalty of forfeiture of the throne, but he should have been unhinged by an ingenuous, just, and national proceeding, upon principles worthy of a nation exercising the most sacred of its rights, and not upon false pretences and by perfidious paltry arts. Tyrants, like other criminals, should be heard before they are judged.

The news of the King's arrival in the capital no sooner reached Windsor than Count Solms was commanded to advance upon London, with the Prince's Dutch guards. His first orders are said to have been to take post that night at Chelsea and Kensington. The result of the deliberations at Windsor was, that he received fresh orders to strike a more decisive and reckless blow at the crown and heart of King James. Towards night the King was informed that Solms was coming to take the posts at Whitehall with the Dutch guards of the Prince of Orange. No previous intimation of this extreme proceeding had been given by the Prince to the unfortunate King. To act upon the King's fears and his imagination was part of the system of tactics settled at Windsor. The King said he could not believe it. He supposed the Dutch troops were come to occupy the posts at St. James's, in pursuance of his invitation to the Prince. Towards eleven at night, when the King was going to bed, Lord Craven, the commanding officer on duty, came to tell him that the Dutch horse and foot were marching through the Park, in order of battle, to take possession of Whitehall. "The stout Earl of Craven," says the Duke of Buckingham, "resolved to be cut in pieces rather

than resign his posts at Whitehall to the Prince's guards, but the King prevented that unnecessary bloodshed with a great deal of care and kindness." He sent for Count Solms, told him there must be some mistake, and suggested that his orders applied only to St. James's palace. The Count removed all doubt, by producing his written orders. The King commanded Lord Craven to withdraw his men, bade Count Solms "do his office," and went to bed in his palace, in the heart of his kingdom, the prisoner of a handful of Dutchmen.

This was but the prelude to a scene of darker hue and more profound contrivance. Lord Middleton, who acted as the lord in waiting upon the King, soon entered his bedchamber. He found James so fast asleep, that drawing the curtain did not awake him.* It was necessary to speak loud in his ear, upon which he started, but recovering himself, asked Lord Middleton, who was kneeling at his bed-side, what was the matter. That Lord told him that Lords Shrewsbury, Delamere, and Halifax were come with a message from the Prince of Orange, which they insisted upon communicating immediately, even at that unseasonable hour. The King desired that they should be called in : upon being introduced, they presented to him the following warrant :—

"We desire you, the lord Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the lord Delamere, to tell the King, that it is thought convenient, for the greater quiet of the city, and the greater safety of his person, that he do remove to Ham, where he shall be attended by his guards, who will be ready to preserve him from any disturbance.

"Given at Windsor, the 17th of December, 1688."

"W. PRINCE OF ORANGE."

Lord Halifax added, that the Prince designed to enter London at noon next day, that the King must be ready to set out at nine in the morning ; that he might take his own servants ; but that the Prince of Orange would provide him with a guard. The King being, he says, absolutely in their power, and without remedy, bowed with submission to this imperious mandate. He merely requested that Ham might be changed for Rochester, the place

* Life, etc. p. 265.

named already by the Prince, objecting to the house at Ham as ill furnished for a winter residence. It is not improbable that he also thought it too near the Tower. The commissioners undertook to transmit his request, and left him in a state to make not only the King, but the tyrant pitied.

The Prince of Orange had by this time come to Sion House. He readily acceded to a request which forwarded his designs, and his consent was communicated at eight in the morning to the three lords by Bentinck. Lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere were punctual to their appointment, at nine, with the King. His arrangements were already made, without yet knowing what should be his destination. Upon being informed by them that he might proceed under a Dutch guard to Rochester, he requested—for he could no longer command—that his carriages, his horses, and the Dutch guards, might go over London Bridge and meet him at Gravesend, whither he should proceed by water in his barge. Lord Halifax objected that the passage of the King's train and guards through the city might move compassion and excite disorder, and preferred their crossing the river by Lambeth ferry. The King replied, that the wind was high, and much time would be lost. "My lord Halifax," says he, "was very unreasonable in his arguing, not to give it a worse name; but my lord Shrewsbury was fair and civil, and agreed to what his Majesty said."^a Eventually it was arranged, that the King's train should pass by the bridge, and that the King should go down the river in his barge, with the Dutch guards in small boats as his escort. From the King's account in the MSS. of Chaillot, and in the printed extracts from his Memoirs, the hardships of his departure appear to have been exaggerated, and the distress and pathos of the scene heightened. He states in his Memoirs, that the foreign ministers, and several lords and gentlemen who came to take leave of him at the water-side, could not refrain from shedding tears.^b In the MSS. of Chaillot this is omitted. Among those who attended him in the barge he names lords Arran, Dunbarton, Litchfield, and Aylesbury, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Talbot, and Colonels Southville and Sutherland, who had thrown up their commissions in the army. A party of the foot guards of the Prince of Orange went in boats before and behind the

^a MS. Mem. cited in Life, etc.

^b Ibid. 267.

King's barge. So much time had been lost about the Dutch escort that the tide was lost, and it was seven in the evening before they reached Gravesend. The King slept there that night, strictly guarded, and proceeded to Rochester next morning.

The two politic experiments thus successfully hazarded upon the King demand a moment's pause. First, a foreign and hostile force is marched by surprise, with guns charged and matches lighted, to dispossess his guards of their posts, and hold him prisoner in his palace. Next, and before his nerves had recovered the first shock, his fears are refreshed, and his imagination scared by a warrant brought at midnight while he slept, to remove him from his home and hearth. The chief odium of this black transaction should not fall on the Prince of Orange. The King stood in the way of the Prince, and William would doubtless have thought it a puerile weakness, or still more puerile morality, to let the ties of kindred interfere with a ruling passion and great designs. There is less excuse, or rather no excuse, for the three English noblemen who descended to become his instruments. They should have left a foreign mandate to be delivered to a king of England in bad French by some Dutch minion of the Prince of Orange. James, with all his popery, as the Duke of Buckingham justly observed, was still their King, and he is no true patriot who does not feel that the independence, and honour, and liberty of his country are wounded in the person of its sovereign.

The conduct of Lord Halifax was indescribably base. He went to the Prince of Orange as the commissioner of the King, secretly betrayed his trust, and adding open shame to hidden perfidy, now came back to the King as a commissioner, or something worse, from the Prince. It is stated that William could not help smiling—he who smiled so rarely—at the willingness with which Lord Halifax consented to play so mean a part.^a He was nominated, it appears, by the Prince, as “an easy trial”^b of his new faith, and as an expiation of his refusal to join those who invited the deliverer. Perhaps William had already resolved to employ him, and thought the dishonoured peer would be so much the more useful minister.

The King had not yet left Whitehall, when preparations began

^a Sheffield Duke of Buckingham. Account of the Revolution.

^b Id. Ibid.

for the entry of the Prince into London. They seemed the precautions of a victorious invader entering a conquered capital. The Tower was occupied by a regiment of his guards, and the rest of the Dutch army was quartered in and near London upon the inhabitants.^a This was not all. The English guards, and other native soldiers, were ordered away from London to distances not less than twenty miles.^b Tilbury Fort, which commanded the river, had been occupied for him two days before, upon the first flight of the King. The Duke of Grafton was appointed to execute this service. He had orders to dislodge as party of Irish stationed there for King James. But the Irish had already evacuated the fort upon the King's flight, not, as it is generally stated, without orders, but in pursuance of orders from the lords at Guildhall.^c Finding themselves abandoned by their sovereign, and placed out of the pale of society and humanity,^d they seized a merchant vessel in the river, endeavoured to escape by it, ran it aground at Gravesend, were attacked from the shore, and, after the loss of some lives on both sides, were disarmed and sent prisoners to the Isle of Wight. The life of the Duke of Grafton, meanwhile, is stated to have been attempted as he rode at the head of his regiment through the Strand—by an Irish trooper, according to some—by an Irish officer, according to others—and this attempt at assassination was put forward as the chief reason for turning King James and his guards out of Whitehall and the capital. How much more likely, it was said, that some of the King's soldiers would attempt the life of the Prince, if both the King and his soldiers were not sent away before the Prince made his entry.^e

Was the life of the Duke of Grafton really attempted? It is so transmitted in the annals of the Revolution, without a suggestion of doubt; although the flagrant improbability alone might have suggested distrust. Why should an assassin choose one of those moments in which his escape was impossible? Why single out a common-place victim whose death could neither gratify vengeance nor serve a cause? But this attempted assassination, thus confidently handed down as an undisputed fact, was not only questionable but questioned at the time. According to private and con-

^a Reresby, Mem.

^b Ibid.

^c Lutt. Diary.

^d *Tanquam aqua et igni interdicti*, are the words of Van Citters, in a dispatch to the States General.

^e Rapin.

fidential letters of the day written from London by persons evidently well-informed, some asserted that the Duke's life was attempted, but others said that the trooper's horse having become restive brought him into contact with the Duke's soldiers; that without aiming at any person in particular, he drew his pistol upon receiving several blows; that either his pistol missed fire, or he did not even try to discharge it, and that both he and his horse were instantly killed by the soldiers of the Duke.^a If the unfortunate trooper was innocent of the intention to assassinate, he was also innocent of the crime of being an Irishman. The latter was merely presumed from the former; and continuing the fallacy in what logicians call a vicious circle, his being an Irishman was given back as proof of his being an assassin. To give the double crime of Irishry and assassination an air of importance, some historians have promoted the trooper to an officer. This incident merits notice only as an instance of the want of care or conscience with which imputation is handed down for fact, and obloquy for truth, when it serves a purpose or flatters a prejudice.

The Prince of Orange having taken possession of London by his troops, entered it in person with a numerous and splendid train of friends and followers, about two o'clock, in an open carriage, with only Marshal Schomberg, a foreign soldier of fortune, his lieutenant-general, seated by his side.^b The mob, or, as denominated by most writers, the rabble, played its proper part, crowding and shouting round him as round King James.^c St. James's Palace, in which he took up his residence, was thronged to do him homage, as Whitehall had been to do homage to King James the day before. He rather avoided than courted the shouts and cheers of the populace, disgusted, perhaps, with their versatility. But he had equal reason to be disgusted with the mob of the court. Upon the departure of the King, Whitehall became a desert. Those who had flocked to him on his re-appearance rushed to St. James's to make their eager court. It should instruct not surprise the student of the Revolution of 1688, to find among them a man of the reputation of Evelyn. He went to see the King dine in public on the 17th, saw him take barge, under a Dutch guard, for Rochester, on the 18th, proceeded directly from this "sad sight," as he calls it, to St. James's, where he saw the Prince and his

^a Sawyer's News Letters, last six months, 1688.

^b Lutt. Diary.

^c Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham. Rores. Mem.

"greate court," and has himself ingenuously recorded all this in his Diary.^a This trait should be viewed as characterising the Revolution and the age, not as degrading Evelyn.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, and several bishops, had waited upon the King immediately on his return to Whitehall.^b All the bishops in or near London, with the single exception of the Archbishop, waited on the Prince of Orange at St. James's the day after he arrived.^c On the next day but one, the Bishop of London, with the clergy of his diocese, and a heterodox mixture of some dissenting ministers, waited in a body on the Prince.^d The presence of the dissenting ministers must have been somewhat unseasonable, if the Bishop, as it is stated, addressed the Prince of Orange on behalf of the Church, and besought for it his Highness's special protection.^e This must have been understood as meaning the maintenance of the tests. Those of the nonconformist ministers who had not appeared in the train of the Bishop came, after a few days, in a body, about ninety in number, with their congratulations, and met with a gracious reception.^f But the public body most early and most eager in its congratulations was the city of London; remembering, and justly, the lawless abrogation of its charter by King James. The aldermen and sheriffs went out on horseback to meet the Prince on his way to the capital, and next day the aldermen, deputies, and common-councilmen, came to congratulate him at St. James's. The Lord Mayor, Sir John Chapman, was at the moment on his death-bed, from the shock of beholding the Lord Chancellor Jeffreys, in a sailor's jacket, with his eye-brows shaved, brought before him as a criminal in the hands of the populace. Sir George Treby, who had been sworn recorder shortly before,^g headed the cavalcade, and addressed the Prince of Orange in a speech worth reference only as a curiosity. Speaking of the Prince's ancestors, he says, "They have long enjoyed a title singular and transcendant, viz. to be the *champions of Almighty God*, sent forth in several ages," &c. Then coming to the Prince himself, he continues, "To this *divine commission* our nobles, our gentry, and, among them, our brave English soldiers, rendered themselves and their arms

^a Vol. i. pp. 619, 620.

^b Life of Sancroft, 386.

^c Ibid. 409. Burnet.

^d "Some Account of the Application of the pious and noble Prelate, Henry, Bishop of London," etc. 6th Coll. State Papers.

^e Lutt. Diary.

^f Ralph, 1073.

^g Lutt. Diary.

upon your appearing. Great Sir, when we look back to the last month, and contemplate the swiftness and fulness of our present deliverance, astonished, we think it miraculous. Your Highness, led by the hand of Heaven," &c.; but enough of this fustian, which would be profane if it were not too foolish. The lawyers came headed by old Sergeant Maynard, who was then near ninety, and said, according to Bishop Burnet, the liveliest thing which the occasion produced. William, with his accustomed want of wit and grace, could imagine no better compliment to the old sergeant than that of his having outlived all the lawyers of his time; to which he replied, that he would have survived the law itself but for the arrival of his Highness. In this, as in other epigrams, there was more wit than truth. The laconic and characteristic remark of Swift upon it is, "He was an old rogue for all that."^a Passing over the character of Sergeant Maynard, it might be suggested in rejoinder, that the chief destroyers of the law were the lawyers, its own offspring, by their iniquitous judgments, their corrupt pleadings, and their sycophant petitions.

The 18th (from the Prince's arrival at two o'clock),^b the 19th, and the 20th, having been passed in public ceremonials, and the more important business of secret management with persons who had to stipulate terms for the future, and recompense for the past,^c the Prince of Orange summoned the lords spiritual and temporal, to consider the actual state of the nation and the government, on the 21st of December. There was in this proceeding an air of good faith and magnanimity. He was in the position of a conqueror, with the nation at his feet. It has been observed, that the seven lords and gentlemen who signed the invitation stipulated no conditions for their country. The lords who formed themselves into a provisional government at Guildhall, without formally dissolving themselves, met no more after he entered the capital. Undivided and discretionary power was thus unequivocally abandoned to him. Further, the lawyers, especially the Whig Pollexfen,^d advised that he should declare himself king, after the precedent of Henry VII. It will be matter of regret to find that Holt concurred with him.^e The Prince rejected their counsel, under the better advice of others, his own good sense, and the apprehension that a

^a Note in Burnet, vol. iii. 361.

^b Latt. Diary.

^c Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham. Account of the Revolution.

^d Speaker Onslow, note in Burnet, vol. iii. 361.

^e Hal. MS.

direct exercise of the right of conquest would not be without danger.

The lords spiritual and temporal having assembled accordingly at St. James's, were met by the Prince of Orange, and addressed by him in the following speech: —

“My Lords,—I have desired you to meet here, to advise the best manner how to pursue the ends of my declaration in calling a free parliament, for the preservation of the Protestant religion, the restoring the rights and liberties of the kingdom, and settling the same, that they may not be in danger of being again subverted.”

Having delivered this speech, the Prince immediately withdrew, leaving the peers to deliberate. They are stated to have been in number between sixty and seventy. Five eminent lawyers — Maynard, Atkins, Holt, Pollexfen, and Bradbury* — were appointed to advise their lordships in matters of law. The appointment of those lawyers is ascribed to the absence of the proper guides in such matters,—the Judges; but the character of many of the latter is more likely to have produced it. By way of preliminary, the lords ordered the reading of the Prince's first declaration, which was followed by a vote of thanks to him for coming over to deliver the three kingdoms. A more trying proposition was next made,—that all present should put their names to the Exeter engagement or association; by which the subscribers bound themselves, before God and man, to each other and to the Prince of Orange. Four temporal peers, and all the prelates present, except the Bishop of London, refused their signatures. The recusant lords temporal were the Duke of Somerset, and Lord Pembroke, Nottingham, and Wharton. The Exeter associators, who had been so tardy in joining the Prince, and whom he suspected and accused of treachery, folly, and cowardice, “engaged to Almighty god and to his Highness,” among other things, “that whereas his person was exposed to the desperate and cursed designs of Papists and other bloody men,” they would pursue all such, their adherents, and all whom they found in arms against his Highness, “with the utmost severity of just revenge, to their ruin and destruction.” The bishops are stated to have objected to the word “revenge,” as unchristian; but to have signed it upon the substitution of the word “punishment.”^b This, it is to be hoped, is an error. The sentiment or the deed

* In most accounts Atkins and Bradbury are called Atkinson and Bradford.
^b Echard.

would still remain the same; and men whose consciences capitulated upon such easy terms as the mere choice of a word, would have no right to reproach Jesuits with equivocation or duplicity. Lords Nottingham and Pembroke are said to have refused, because Finch, the son of the former, and Sir Robert Sawyer, the father-in-law of the latter, were not appointed as counsel to advise the lords. Lord Warton is stated to have declared, that having signed so many associations which came to nothing, he was resolved to sign no more.^a It is certainly more charitable, and may possibly be more just, to suppose that all the peers, spiritual and temporal, who withheld their signatures, were revolted by a denunciation which went to refuse quarter in the field, and hold all Papists responsible for the crime of any single one. Compton, Bishop of London, appears to have been a thorough-going partisan, ready to say or do any thing required of him by his party, his ambition, or his safety. He signed the invitation to the Prince of Orange; and, in the presence of King James, forswore, in the worst form—that of an equivocation—his knowledge and his deed. He was ready to sign any thing, like the libertine, and swear any thing, like the Jew, in the dramatic *chef-d'œuvre* of Sheridan; and for these merits, together with his share in the Princess Anne's desertion of her father, he was named, by way of pre-eminence in his day, “the Protestant Bishop.” Finally, the lords came to the resolution of meeting next day in their house at Westminster.

It is now time to return to King James, and dismiss him from the scene. He arrived at Rochester on the morning of the 19th, and lingered until the night of the 22d or morning of the 23d of December, distracted between his promise to the Queen and his own fears on the one side, the advice of his friends, the intelligence which reached him, and some poor remains of reason and resolution on the other. James had resistless evidence, that his withdrawing himself out of the kingdom was the very thing most desired by the Prince of Orange. Arrived at Rochester, he found himself negligently guarded.^b His friends in London, and among them some of the bishops, tried to dissuade him from leaving the kingdom. Dr. Brady, one of his physicians, came to him with a memorial, containing reasons against his departure.^c Lord Middleton, who accompanied and adhered to him, strongly urged his

^a Oldmixon.

^b Chaillot MS. See App.

^c Ibid.

remaining. Lord Dartmouth, though he had already received and submitted to the commands of the lords at Guildhall, and written to the Prince of Orange, yet ventured to assure King James, upon the news of his first flight, that "his fleet would have unanimously defended his sacred person from unhallowed hands." The fact, obvious to himself and admitted by him,^a that by deserting his kingdom, he was playing the game of his enemy, would alone have fixed the resolution of another man: it only made James hesitate. There was in London a re-action in his favour, after the first excitement had subsided, and men began to reflect. Both reason and humanity seemed to take their turn. Bells rang, and bonfires were lighted, on the night of the arrival of the Prince; but thinking men in the city, says Sir John Reresby, considered the King hardly treated. Even Burnet says it was called unnatural, that the King should be roused from his sleep, ordered to leave his palace, and made a prisoner at a moment when he submitted at discretion to the nation and to the Prince. It was remembered as the saying of his father, that the prisons of kings were not far from their graves, and the enterprise of the Prince of Orange was looked on as a disguised and designed usurpation.^b The aspect of London could hardly fail to strike and shock Englishmen, worthy of the name. The English guards who adorned the royal palaces by the gallantry of their persons and equipments, had given way to the slovenly and grotesque blue Dutch guards of the Prince of Orange. "The streets swarmed," says Sir John Reresby, "with ill-favoured and ill-accounted Dutchmen, and other foreigners of the Prince's army:" the national uniform and standard had disappeared, and the inhabitants soon began to feel it an inconvenience, that their deliverers should be quartered upon their houses.^c

But the chief hope of James was from the bishops, and especially from some of those whom he had sent to the Tower. It appears that several prelates were strongly possessed, as their adversaries expressed it, with an unsafe project of accommodation between the King and the Prince. They contemplated reducing James, by act of Parliament, and with his previous consent, to the state of a duke of Venice,^d the prerogatives of peace and war, and the appointment to all offices, civil and ecclesiastical, being vested in the Prince of Orange. The bishops, on the other hand, who adhered

^a Chaillot MS.^b Burnet, vol. iii. 359.^c Lutt. Diary.^d Letter of Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph. Dal. App. .

to the Prince, were as strongly possessed with the project of constraining the flight of James into a cession of the crown. Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, gives, in a private letter found in King William's cabinet, a curious and disreputable account of the failure of his secret mission to sound Turner, Bishop of Ely, obliquely and as from himself. The letter appears to have been addressed to Bentinck, afterwards Earl of Portland, or some other person in the especial confidence of the Prince of Orange.^a Reasons may easily be imagined for the disinclination of those prelates to set aside King James. The Prince of Orange, on his arrival, is said to have startled the clergy of the Church of England, by the favour which he manifested to the Protestant nonconformists.^b He soon discovered his mistake, and sided with the stronger party. On Sunday, the 30th of December, having heard Dr. Burnet read prayers, and the above named Bishop of St. Asaph preach, he received the sacrament from the hands of the Bishop of London.^c It would be ungracious to scrutinise the secret consciences, and it would be tedious to go over the party relations between the three divines and the politician, thus grouped in this sacred rite and solemn scene. Next, the bishops abandoned so much only of the doctrine of passive obedience as was necessary to maintain the supremacy of the Church, and would naturally strive to preserve the indefeasible title and succession to the crown. Thirdly, they may have conscientiously believed active resistance and the deprivation of a legitimate king contrary to the creed and principles of the Church of England. They, however, wanted power or resolution, or were too much afraid of the inveterate popery of James, to act upon their principles; and openly defend his right. The King, whilst he still lingered on the verge of his kingdom, sent a message to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Winchester, offering to place himself in their hands, if they undertook for his personal safety. According to one account, "they neither accepted the motion nor rejected it;"^d but other authorities, including the King himself, state, that they declared they could not undertake to protect him against the ambitious designs and foreign troops of the Prince of Orange.^e He even proposed going to the North, and throwing himself into the arms of Lord Danby. That Lord offered to protect him with his

^a Dal. App.

^c Lutt. Diary.

^e Chaillot MS. "Great Britain's Just Complaint," &c.

^b Reresby, 301.

^d Reresby, 312.

life, "if he came with a considerable party, and left his Papists behind him."^a The King "would not part with his Romans,"^b and did not come. But to fulfil the condition proposed by Lord Danby was no longer in the King's power: he could bring no considerable party, nor indeed any accession whatever to the raw and few levies of the Earl of Danby. James finally made up his mind to depart; determined, according to Bishop Burnet, by a vehement and imperious letter from the Queen. "This letter," says he, "was intercepted: I had an account of it from one that read it. The Prince ordered it to be conveyed to the King, and that determined him." There was, at least, as much of the barbarian as of the politician in breaking that most sacred seal, and forwarding the letter to the King. According to the narrative of James himself, he was decided by the meeting of the Lords at Westminster, on the 22d of December.

The rear of the house occupied by the King at Rochester was left designedly unguarded: sentinels were placed at the front door, rather as a guard of honour than for safe keeping. The Dutch soldiers, for the most part Catholics, went devoutly to the King's mass, and treated him with more respect than his own guards. The reply of one of those soldiers, according to Bishop Burnet, greatly pleased King James. The King asked him how he, a Catholic, could take part in an expedition for the destruction of his religion; he replied, that his soul belonged to God, and his sword to the Prince of Orange. This partition of duties might suit a tyrant, but seems to have been regarded with unsuitable complacency by the divine. The King sent from Rochester to the treasury for 1500*l.*, and received only 300*l.*,^c of which he allotted 100*l.* to the captain, 50*l.* to the lieutenant, and the residue to the non-commissioned officers and privates of his Dutch escort. He drew up a short but elaborate and affecting statement of his reasons for withdrawing himself a second time. It will be presently introduced. Having made these arrangements, he withdrew secretly between twelve and one o'clock in the morning of the 23d of December, with his natural son the Duke of Berwick; was conducted on board a smack by two captains of the navy,—Macdonald, an Irishman, and Trevanion, an Englishman; suffered some ordinary hardships and delays, but met not a single ship under sail; escaped the ships

^a Reresby, 325, and Halifax MS.^b Reresby Mem.^c Lutt. Diary.

lying in the Downs; and on the morning of the 25th, landed in France, at Ambleteuse.

The Queen, after waiting twenty-four hours at Calais for the King, had gone to Boulogne; heard there of the King's captivity and danger; resolved to send forward the Prince of Wales to the court of France, and return herself to share her husband's fate; was dissuaded by those about her, and by more favourable accounts from England; and on the King's arrival in France, was already installed at St. Germain.

Louis XIV. received Queen Mary of Este and James II. in their distress, not only with that gorgeous magnificence, which is called grandeur in tyrants, but with a certain elevation of sentiment. Upon hearing that the Queen of England was in France, he sent his carriages and an escort to conduct her to his court. Preparations were made for her reception at every stage. Men were employed to clear her route of the snow, which had fallen to a great depth. The French King himself advanced a league from St. Germain to give her welcome. He took the infant Prince of Wales in his arms, and promised him protection and succour in a formal harangue.^a His first words to the Queen were,—“ I render you, Madam, a sad service; but I hope to render you soon a greater and more fortunate.”^b Arrived at St. Germain, she found herself served with all the state and splendour of a Queen of France. Presents in silver, gold, rich wardrobes, and jewels, awaited her acceptance; and she found a purse containing 10,000 louis on her toilet.

It must have been a lively satisfaction to James, who had both domestic virtues and kind affections, to find his wife and child surrounded with magnificence and respect. Louis XIV. received him with the utmost compassion and generosity; but he was an object of derision to the French courtiers, including the prelates of the Church of France. “ There,” said the Archbishop of Rheims, brother of Louvois, to the courtiers, in James's own antechamber at St. Germain, “ there is a good soul, who has given up three kingdoms for a mass.”^c From Rome they sent him indulgences and pasquinades.^d His life, with the exception of his unhappy ex-

^a Life of K. James, vol. ii. 248.

^b Volt. Siècle de Louis XIV. Lett. de Mad. Sévig. Mém. de Mad. de la Fayette.

^c Voilà un bon homme, qui a quitté trois royaumes pour une messe.

^d Siècle de Louis XIV.

pedition to Ireland,—if that exception should be made,—was passed in such a manner as to justify these contemptuous pleasantries. He visited the Jesuits in their monastery at Paris, and disclosed to them the curious fact, that whilst Duke of York, he was made a brother of their order. He visited, and had spiritual communings of some days together, with the monks of La Trappe. He touched for the King's evil at the convent of Chaillot;* passed many hours of his life in edifying discourse upon grace, faith, heresy, and salvation, with the nuns, and bequeathed to them his penitentiary discipline and girdle of iron. The grateful nuns preserved not only the manuscript already cited, but some relics, precious in their eyes, of his life, death, and conversation. One fact stated by them is of some importance to history:—King James, they say, when placing in their hands the narrative of his flight from England, declared “that he was taken by surprise; that if the thing were to be done over again, he would act differently; and that even overwhelmed and surprised as he was, if he had had time to collect himself, he would have taken other measures.” The paper containing his motives for withdrawing himself, which he left behind him at Rochester in the charge of Lord Middleton, to be printed in London, though somewhat trite, should yet, in justice to him, and for its brevity, be given in the text; and it will, perhaps, be most suitably introduced here.

“The world cannot wonder at my withdrawing myself now this second time. I might have expected somewhat better usage after what I writ to the Prince of Orange by my Lord Feversham, and the instructions I gave him; but, instead of an answer such as I might have hoped for, what was I to expect, after the usage I received, by making the said Earl a prisoner against the practice and law of nations; the sending his own guards at eleven at night to take possession of the posts at Whitehall, without advertising me in the least manner of it; the sending to me at one o'clock, after midnight, when I was in bed, a kind of an order, by three Lords, to be gone out of my own palace before twelve that same morning? After all this, how could I hope to be safe, so long as I was in the power of one who had not only done this to me, and invaded my kingdoms without any just occasion given him for it; but that did, by his first declaration, lay the greatest aspersion upon me that

* MS. of Chaillot.

malice could invent, in that clause of it which concerns my son? I appeal to all that know me, nay, even to himself, that, in their consciences, neither he nor they can believe me in the least capable of so unnatural a villany, nor of so little common sense, as to be imposed on in a thing of such a nature as that. What had I, then, to expect from one who, by all arts, hath taken such pains to make me appear as black as hell to my own people, as well as to all the world besides? What effect that hath had at home, all mankind have seen by so general a defection in my army, as well as in the nation, amongst all sorts of people. I was born free, and desire to continue so; and though I have ventured my life very frankly on several occasions, for the good and honour of my country, and am as free to do it again (and which I hope I yet shall do, as old as I am, to redeem it from the slavery it is like to fall under), yet I think it not convenient to expose myself to be so secured, as not to be at liberty to effect it; and for that reason do withdraw, but so as to be within call whenever the nation's eyes shall be opened, so as to see how they have been abused and imposed upon by the specious pretences of religion and property. I hope it will please God to touch their hearts, out of his infinite mercy, and to make them sensible of the ill condition they are in, and bring them to such a temper, that a legal parliament may be called; and that, amongst other things which may be necessary to be done, they will agree to liberty of conscience to all Protestant Dissenters; and that those of my own persuasion may be so far considered, and have such a share of it, as they may live peaceably and quietly, as all Englishmen and Christians ought to do, and not be obliged to transplant themselves, which would be very grievous, especially to such as live in their own country; and I appeal to all men, who are considering men, and have had experience, whether any thing can make this nation so great and flourishing as liberty of conscience? Some of our neighbours dread it. I could add much more to confirm what I have said, but now is not the proper time."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Proceedings of the Peers.—Meeting of Commoners.—Addresses to the Prince.—
William invested with the Executive Government.—State of Parties.

THE Lords spiritual and temporal, pursuant to their resolution, met on the 22d in the House of Lords at Westminster. Removing from St. James's Palace gave an air of independence, and meeting in their own house an air of authority to their deliberations. Their first act was to appoint Lord Halifax speaker. He owed this honour to one who bore him little kindness, Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, then Lord Mulgrave.^a The Archbishop of Canterbury, who presided, as head of the peerage, over the assembly of the peers at Guildhall, absented himself from their subsequent consultations at Whitehall. Dr. Lamplugh, raised suddenly by King James to the archbishopric of York, as a reward for the panic or prudent fear with which he fled from Exeter to court on the approach of the Prince of Orange, wanted dignity and experience to preside over such an assembly. On the motion of Lord Mulgrave, Lord Halifax was appointed. His having filled the chair at Whitehall led to his being chosen to occupy the woolsack at Westminster, and, according to Lord Mulgrave, was the cause of all his subsequent favour with King William. But Lord Halifax had other and more persuasive recommendations, in his mean services and superior talents. Mr. Gwynne, also re-appointed, was authorised, as clerk or secretary, to sign their Lordships' orders. Their first order was, that all Papists should remove to a distance not less than ten miles from London, with the exception of housekeepers of three years' standing, the servants of the Queen Dowager, the foreign servants of foreign ambassadors, and foreign merchants.^b This appears to have been the chief, if not sole, business transacted on the 22d; they adjourned over Sunday, to Monday, the 24th of December.

^a Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, Account of the Revolution. ^b Lutt. Diary.

On the 22d, the Lords had deliberated, and made orders, without reference to the authority or existence of the King, who was still within the realm. They were informed, on the morning of the 24th, that he had deserted his crown and kingdom, leaving behind him a paper containing the reasons of his flight. Some of the persons who had been the King's servants, but whose names have not come down, moved that his paper of reasons should be read. The motion was negatived; and this decision put an end to any hopes which James may have entertained from the Lords.^a It has been remarked as a matter of wonder hardly credible to future ages, that an assembly of Peers, about ninety in number, and comprising many of the old court and council, should so readily set aside their King, without even reading his letter, "which might be reckoned the last words of a dying sovereign."^b The conduct of the old courtiers should not add to the surprise. That courtiers should be ungrateful, is nothing strange or uncommon. The Lords, moreover, appear to have exercised a sound discretion, in rejecting the letter of the King. His removal once resolved, there were two modes of proceeding to effect it,—either a fair and full trial, or a sentence against him upon the notoriety of his acts. It is a dangerous precedent to condemn even a tyrant unheard; but for the former mode there was not enough of exalted justice and superior reason in the realm; and the latter process alone remaining, the King's letter could only produce barren or mischievous commiseration. The King, too, had the benefit of his letter by publicity in print. Burnet replied to it by authority. That accommodating divine, under the name of Chaplain to the Prince of Orange, appears to have resembled the *mediastinus* of a Roman household; he was always within call, to be employed in miscellaneous and inferior services, whether of the antechamber or the closet. James, in his letter, made out no case as between him and the nation; but as against the Prince of Orange, his case was unanswerable. Burnet, accordingly, failed to answer it, and charged his failure upon the excess and delicacy of his respect for the King's name. No respect for the King's misfortune, for Christian charity, or for truth, could yet restrain the Bishop, in his history, from insinuating that the King's flight was the effect of his secret consciousness of some black crime (meaning the imposition of a spurious heir), and

^a Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, Account of the Revolution.

^b Id. *ibid*.

asserting that his withdrawing himself out of the kingdom was an unforced and voluntary act.

The next was Christmas-day. The Lords thought it right to transact business in so urgent a public crisis. They passed two most important resolutions: the first, that the Prince of Orange should be requested to take upon him the administration of public affairs, civil and military, and the disposal of the public revenue, for the preservation of their religion, rights, laws, liberties, and properties for the peace of the nation, and for the security of Ireland, until the following 22d of January. The reference to Ireland was reluctantly acquiesced in by the friends of the Prince of Orange.^a An address to the same effect, respecting Ireland, had been presented to him three days before by lords and gentlemen having Irish estates;^b and the neglect, real or supposed, of the state of Ireland, afterwards subjected King William to suspicion and unpopularity. The second resolution of the Lords was, that the Prince should be requested to issue letters of summons for electing members, as for parliament, to assemble as a convention, on the 22d of January, in order to consider and settle the state of the nation. Addresses, founded respectively on both resolutions, and signed by all the Lords spiritual and temporal present,^c were presented to the Prince of Orange on the same day. This offer of a temporary dictatorship is stated to have embarrassed the Prince; and credit is given to his advisers for having extricated him with adroitness.^d His embarrassment is described as lying between the peril of dallying with so tempting an offer on the one side, and accepting it from the Lords only, without consulting the Commons, on the other. The expedient said to have been suggested to him, was to postpone his answer, and summon, in the meantime, such persons then in town as had served in any of the parliaments of Charles II., with the aldermen,^e and fifty common-councilmen of London. It seems incredible that the Prince of Orange, having by his side two such expert advisers as Lords Halifax and Danby, should be unprepared for the resolution of the Lords; and the question is set at rest by the dates. The Commons, or those whom he was pleased to treat with as such, did not, it is true, meet him at St. James's Palace until the 26th; but his summons

^a Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.

^b Lutt. Diary.

^c Kennet.

^d Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham. Account of the Rev.

^e The Lord Mayor was still on his death-bed.

requiring their attendance is dated the 23d,^a and the Lords voted their address on the 25th of December.

The exclusion of those who had served only in the parliament of James was neither just nor politic. It was a weak presumption to stigmatise indirectly all that had been done by him as illegal or unconstitutional. The persons nominated within the above limitations by the Prince of Orange to represent the commons of England, waited on him at St. James's on the 26th. The Prince, in a short speech, said he had summoned them to advise on the best mode of carrying into effect the ends of his declaration in calling a free parliament for the preservation of the Protestant religion, and of their laws and liberties, and for the settlement of the nation. Those spurious and motley representatives of the English people took possession of the House of Commons with much less warrant than the Lords had taken possession of their accustomed place of meeting; but whether on the 26th or on the following day seems doubtful. According to Narcissus Luttrell's MS. diary, "they went to the House of Commons, and debated the matters (referred to them by the Prince) two or three daies; then they agreed on an address to the Prince as the Lords had done." To admit even of two sittings they must have deliberated on the 26th, as their address was presented on the 27th. The printed record of their debates is scanty. Their first act was to vote Mr. Powle into the chair. He was one of the Whig pensioners of Louis XIV. in the latter years of the preceding reign.^b The first question, and very naturally, was by what authority they were assembled. It was resolved, that the summons of the Prince of Orange was a sufficient warrant. The next question was that of disposing of the powers of government. No doubt seems to have arisen as to the person. Sir Robert Southwell^c said he could not conceive how it was possible for the Prince of Orange to take upon him the administration without some distinguishing name or title. Sergeant Maynard replied, that they should wait long and lose much time if they waited till Sir Robert *conceived* how that was *possible*. There was some reason in this sarcasm. It would have been vain to look for regularity in a sudden and unprecedented crisis, when all was irregular. Having determined that the administration should be vested in the Prince, they next debated the

^a London Gazette.

^b See list in Dal. App.

^c Some accounts assign this observation to Sir Robert Sawyer.

duration of the trust. A proposition was made that the period should be a year. This was over-ruled, as a matter to be decided by the intended convention. It was proposed that those present should, like the Lords, sign the Exeter engagement. This proposition was negatived; but a copy was laid on the table, to be signed or not at their individual pleasure. The only difference between their address and that of the Lords was, that it opened with their thanks to the Prince for coming over with such great hazard to his person, for the purpose of rescuing them from popery and slavery. He had already been thanked for this favour upon another occasion by the peers.

The address of the Commons was presented to the Prince of Orange through their speaker, Mr. Powle, on the 27th. He told them their request was a matter of weight, which required consideration, and he would let them know his decision next day. The Prince had not yet given his answer to the address of the Lords. On the morning of the 28th, he informed their Lordships, that he had considered their advice, accepted their charge, and would act accordingly. In the evening he gave an answer, nearly in the same terms, to the Commons. The Prince of Orange thus affected to confer an obligation, by taking upon him a laborious trust, when he was invested with sovereign power over the English nation, the first object of his ambition and his life. Religious party spirit blinds men strangely to the real character of their idol, yet it is scarcely possible that this affectation could have imposed even on the common-councilmen. It was unworthy of the character and understanding of an able politician and great prince. He did not himself personally interfere to produce this result, but the expedition and unanimity of both Lords and Commons were ascribed not only to influence, but to force and fear. "Both Houses," says the Duke of Buckingham, "might well concur in all, since influenced, I might have said enforced, by the same causes, which last expression I make use of, both on account of the Prince's army here, commanded by a famous general, the Mareschal de Schomberg, and also of a murmur which went about, that the city apprentices were coming down to Westminster, in a violent rage against all who voted against the Prince of Orange's interest." There appears no ground to suppose, that the Prince directly suspended over their deliberations the terrors of his army or of the populace. But it is far from equally probable that these terrors were not felt on that, and em-

ployed on other subsequent occasions. The fury of the rabble was soon regarded as a familiar engine of policy to promote the objects or interests of the Prince. It was associated with the policy of William both in Holland and in England by an odious by-word, so well understood as to be employed in a document signed by five prelates.* Referring to the author of a libel upon them, they say "he (the author) barbarously endeavours to raise in the English nation such a fury as may end in *Dewitting* us; a bloody word (they add), but too well understood."

It is generally asserted or implied, that the Prince of Orange did not take upon him the executive functions of the state until they were vested in him by unanimous resolutions of the Lords and Commons; and that he tolerated the intrigues of Barillon after the King's flight, until his new charge authorised him to send that minister out of the kingdom. But it is manifest that even whilst the King was still within the realm, the Prince assumed and exercised sovereign power; and the very instance given of his forbearance is, in point of fact, an instance of the contrary. Barillon was ordered by the Prince to depart in forty-eight hours, according to some; in twenty-four hours, according to others. He requested further time; was peremptorily refused, and left London on the 24th,^b four days before the Prince formally assumed the administration. The French ambassador was escorted by a party of the Prince's Dutch guards, under the command of a French refugee. This turn of fortune was one of the most extraordinary, and is said to have produced between them on their route the following question and reply:—"Would you have believed it, sir, had you been told, a year ago, that a French refugee would be charged to escort you out of England?"—"Cross over with me to Calais, sir," said the ambassador; "and I will give you an answer." This reply is ambiguous: if Barillon spoke as a Frenchman, he doubtless meant that he would answer with his sword; if as the representative of Louis XIV., he must have hinted at the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

On Saturday the 29th of December the Prince of Orange issued his letters of summons for the memorable convention; on Sunday the 30th he received the sacrament, as already stated, according to the rites of the Church of England; on Monday the 31st he made

* The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Norwich, Ely, Peterborough, and Bath and Wells. D'Oyley's *Life of Sancroft*, vol. ii. p. 455.

^b Latt. Diary. Sawyer's *News Letters*.

a visit to the widow of Charles II. at Somerset House, and granted to her the liberty of her chamberlain, Lord Feversham. According to some she solicited this favour ; * others state that she obtained it indirectly by an ingenious reply to one of the dull common-places which made up the conversation of this famous prince. He asked her how she passed her time, and whether she played at basset. The Queen Dowager replied, that she had not played at that game since she was deprived of her chamberlain, who kept the bank. He took the hint, and on the 2d of January the chamberlain resumed his service. Such a proceeding might be called gallantry at Paris and Versailles ; it was despotism at Somerset House. The imprisonment of Lord Feversham was the act, and his release the courtesy, of a tyrant, not of a prince who was the first magistrate of a republic, and aspired to the constitutional throne of a nation jealous of its liberty and laws.

The Prince, to secure the freedom of election, issued an order on the 2d January, for the removal of the military from the places in which the elections should be held ; and leaving his interest in the returns to be managed by his partisans, applied himself to interests and intrigues more immediately within the range of his executive trust. He was not yet invested with the administration of Scotland. The Privy Council of that kingdom, early in December, despatched Lord Balcarras with a letter to the King, setting forth the state of affairs, and requesting his further orders. On the arrival of their envoy, the King had just withdrawn himself for the first time from Whitehall. Lord Balcarras had also a letter to the Duke of Hamilton, and in the absence of the King thought it advisable to consult with the Duke and other Scotch privy councillors then in London. Among them was Lord Dundee. A copy of the letter to the King was given to the Duke of Hamilton. He insisted upon being intrusted with the original ; and upon the refusal of Lord Balcarras, discovered, in the fury of his passion, that his object was to lay it as matter of accusation before the provisional council of lords then sitting at Whitehall. The King unexpectedly returned from Feversham ; and the Duke of Hamilton, mean now as he was insolent before, made abject excuses to Balcarras, Dundee, and the other privy councillors, offered them at another meeting his friendship and services, was among the most eager to do homage to the

* Lutt. Diary.

King on his return, sat in King James's last privy council at Whitehall, and upon the King's final departure was among the first to wait on the Prince of Orange at St. James's.

The Marquis of Atholl and the populace had already produced at Edinburgh a revolution in favour of the Presbytery and the Prince. Protestant episcopacy and popery were alike odious to the Scotch. The former should, in reason, have been the more odious of the two; but verbal dogmas and disputes in matters of religion produce as virulent animosities as oppression and persecution. Atholl came from Scotland to London to obtain the reward of his services from the Prince, or prevent his being supplanted by the Duke of Hamilton. The Scotch party of the Prince of Orange in London became divided. The Duke, however, obtained the ascendant and the confidence of the Prince, by superior address, or because Lord Atholl had given offence by prematurely leaving his post. The second flight of the King placed the Scotch lords and gentlemen in London at the disposition of the Prince of Orange. So dexterous was the management of the Prince and the Duke of Hamilton, that about thirty peers of Scotland, including Dundee and Balcarras, both strenuous Jacobites, waited on the Prince at St. James's, on the 8th of January. The Prince of Orange addressed to them a few words, substantially the same as those addressed by him to the English Lords and Commons, and they adjourned to deliberate in the council-chamber at Whitehall. The Duke of Hamilton was unanimously appointed to preside. They debated and adjourned without coming to any resolution, and assembled again next day. A resolution, vesting in the Prince of Orange the administration of the government and disposal of the revenue of the kingdom of Scotland, was drawn up, and about to be agreed to, when Lord Arran, son of the Duke of Hamilton, astonished all present by pronouncing from a written paper the following short and stirring speech:—

“My Lords, I have all the honour and deference for the Prince of Orange imaginable. I think him a brave prince, and that we owe him great obligations in contributing so much for our delivery from popery; but, while I pay him those praises, I cannot violate my duty to my master. I must distinguish between his popery and his person. I dislike the one, but have sworn and do owe allegiance to the other, which makes it impossible for me to sign

away that which I cannot forbear believing is the King my master's right; for his present absence from us, by being in France, can no more affect our duty than his longer absence from Scotland has done all this while.

"My Lords, the Prince in his paper desires our advice: mine is, that we should move his Highness to desire his Majesty to return and call a free parliament, for the securing our religion and property, according to the known laws of that kingdom, which in my humble opinion will at last be found the best way to heal our breaches."

The Duke in the chair frowned upon his son: the proposition of Lord Arran was not seconded; and the meeting abruptly separated. A third meeting took place the next day. Sir Patrick Hume declared the proposition of Lord Arran "inimicus" to the declaration of the Prince of Orange and the Protestant religion; asked whether any one present was prepared to second it; received no answer; and moved that it should be stigmatised as "adverse and inimicus, &c.," by the assembly. This motion, seconded by Lord Cardross, was withdrawn at the suggestion of the Duke of Hamilton; and the Prince of Orange was charged with the government of Scotland until the States of that kingdom should be assembled pursuant to the Prince's letters, in Edinburgh, on the 14th of the following March.

The opposition between the Duke of Hamilton and his son has been variously accounted for. Lord Arran was one of those who attended King James to Rochester: his regiment was in consequence taken from him to be given to Lord Oxford; and hence, it has been stated, his zeal for the King. By others it is supposed, that the father and son took opposite sides, in order that whatever party succeeded, the family estates should not become forfeit. The address of the Scotch was a bolder proceeding than that of the English. King James left England without a government, but in Scotland the regency and whole machinery of administration remained. The English supplied the want; but the Scotch set aside the authority of an executive government.

The administration of Great Britain was now in the hands of the Prince of Orange. Edinburgh Castle was still held by the Duke of Gordon, a Catholic, for King James. But that Duke's religion could only secure his fidelity; it could not make up for his

want of capacity and character. He occupied an important fortress for some months with little molestation and no credit, and surrendered still more ingloriously, at a critical moment, on the first demonstration of a serious attack.

Ireland proved the strong hold of King James. The Protestants there were a minority; and Tyrconnel, the chief governor, devoted to the King, to popery, and to his country, had put himself in a formidable posture of defence. He disarmed Protestants, and raised an army of 40,000 men, chiefly Catholics. Those lords and gentlemen who were connected with that kingdom frequently called the attention of the Prince to the perilous state of the Protestant interest and their estates in Ireland. The Prince gave them general assurances, and did nothing. His extraordinary supineness has been ascribed to various causes. Tyrconnel sent several messages to the Prince of Orange, offering to deliver up Ireland if such a force were sent over as would give him a decent pretence for surrendering; and the Prince, it has been stated, acting upon the advice of Lord Halifax, disregarded his offers. Lord Halifax suggested to him, that if Ireland submitted there would be no pretext for maintaining an army; and so changeable was the genius of the English people, that, without the support of a strong military force, he would be turned out as easily as he had been brought in.* By others, it was supposed that the Prince neglected Ireland under the influence and advice of persons who expected to profit by new confiscations in that devoted land.

The character of Tyrconnel and his subsequent conduct leave no doubt that his offered submission was but an artifice to gain time. Few men were better formed for deception and intrigue. His reckless language, animal vivacity, strong impulses, and religious zeal, masked his falsehood, adroitness, hypocrisy, and finesse. He duped the Prince of Orange, Lord Mountjoy, and the veteran intriguers of the French court. But his fidelity to an unfortunate master is a redeeming and transcendent virtue at a period when more decorous politicians intrigued and betrayed with as little scruple, and from the base motives of personal safety and self-interest. It is now notorious from various publications, that the ministers most confided in by King James, from Godolphin to

* Burnet, vol. iii. 369, 370. Dart. n. *ibid*.

Sunderland, betrayed his counsels to the Prince of Orange, and that King William's chief ministers and servants, Halifax, Godolphin, Shrewsbury, and Marlborough, secured themselves, in case of a counter-revolution, by secret intrigues, and a traitorous correspondence with James II. Others, again, have accounted for the Prince's neglect of Ireland by his distrust of the English soldiery, his entire dependence in England upon his Dutch troops, and the impossibility of reinforcements from Holland, already at war with Louis XIV.* The only step taken by him favours this last supposition. He determined, upon the advice of his council, to make a formal call upon Tyrconnel to submit, with an offer that the Irish Catholics should be secured in the condition in which they stood at the period of 1684. Sarsfield, the most distinguished of the Irish officers, who had been brought over to England on the eve of the invasion, was requested to be the bearer of the Prince's summons to Tyrconnel. He had the virtue to reply that he was ready to serve the Prince against the King of France, but that he would not be instrumental in depriving his lawful sovereign of one of his kingdoms. Hamilton, another Irish officer, recommended, it has been stated, by the son of Sir William Temple, was less delicate, though, it would appear, not less faithful to James. He accepted the service, and undertook to overcome, by his influence, any reluctance on the part of Tyrconnel. Arrived in Dublin, he is represented to have combated, instead of encouraging, any disposition of Tyrconnel to submit, and did not return to give an account of his mission. It seems, however, much more probable that if influence or persuasion took place on either side, it proceeded from the Lord Deputy. Tyrconnel had already executed his dexterous manœuvre of an embassy to King James. In his overtures to the Prince of Orange and in his communications with the leading Irish Protestants, he affected to think himself bound in honour to ask the sanction of the King before he submitted. Lord Mountjoy was the person most trusted by the Protestants. His influence was unbounded in the north of Ireland, where the majority were Presbyterians devoted to the Prince of Orange. Tyrconnel summoned him to Dublin, under pretence of consultation in so delicate a crisis. Mountjoy came, and earnestly recommended submission: Tyrconnel affected to be convinced by his

* Life of K. James.

reasons, but said he could not in honour submit without first communicating to King James the moral impossibility of defending Ireland, and added a suggestion that Mountjoy himself should proceed for this purpose to France. Mountjoy made objections. The Protestants warned him against the mission as an artifice of the Lord Deputy to be relieved from his presence. Tyrconnel, on the other hand, says Archbishop King, swore solemnly that he was in earnest; that he knew the court of France would oppose him with its power, for that court minded nothing but its own interest, and would not care if Ireland were sunk to the pit of hell,* so it gave the Prince of Orange three months' diversion; that if the King consented to ruin Ireland merely to oblige France, he would look upon such consent as dictated by the French court, and act accordingly. Mountjoy believed a man who protested and swore with so much vehemence, and who argued for the purpose of deceit with perfect truth.

One objection of Mountjoy appears by implication to have been, that the report of a Protestant might be distrusted by the King.^b Tyrconnel overcame the objection, and completed his own machinery by associating with Mountjoy Chief Baron Rice, who had James's entire confidence. The two envoys left Ireland about the 10th of January. Rice had his separate and secret instructions. Immediately on their arrival, he informed the King, that their embassy was a device of the loyal lord deputy to rid himself of Mountjoy, whom he recommended to a lodging in the Bastille, and to let the King know he had put Ireland in such a posture of defence as to hold out until succours should arrive from France.

Mountjoy, before his departure, had obtained from Tyrconnel the following pledges for the security of the Protestants:—that no more soldiers should be raised; that no more troops should be sent into the north; that no person should be questioned for past conduct; that soldiers should not be quartered upon private houses. The unlucky envoy upon reaching Paris was shut up in the Bastille; and he had no sooner left Ireland than Tyrconnel, dexterously and by degrees pulling off the mask, violated so much of his engagements as he found expedient; disarmed the Protestants of Dublin under pretence of maintaining tranquillity, added to the military force, and still made show of a disposition to submit, *salvo honore*.

* Tyrconnel's very words.

^b Life of K. James.

It is stated by Archbishop King, that Mountjoy went to France without the privity of the Prince of Orange, and that this was urged by him as a reason why his leaving Ireland could not compromise the safety of the Protestants. The Prince, who was no party to it, would, he said, be at liberty to act as he chose at any moment for their protection. But it appears from the circular letter of Mountjoy himself to the Protestants, that his mission was known in England, and so much relied on that no forces were or would be sent over to Ireland. It may be suspected, if not inferred from this variance, that the Prince of Orange had that sort of privity which he might acknowledge or disavow as it suited his convenience.

Such were the proceedings of Tyrconnel, whilst it was generally supposed in England, and believed by many in Ireland, that he wanted nothing but a decent pretence, a sufficient bribe, and the influence of Hamilton, to make him deliver up his sword. When some of the Irish privy-counsellors pressed him to surrender, he is said to have asked them in a tone of pleasantry and derision, whether they would have him throw the sword of state over the castle walls, when there was nobody to take it up. His conduct appears to have been upon the whole a master-piece of its kind. It seems more likely that Hamilton was gained over by him than he by Hamilton; but the most probable supposition is, that neither required the other's persuasion or influence. Hamilton had little reason to be grateful for his own treatment, or that of the Irish whom he commanded, by the English nation and the Prince of Orange. The Prince, says Bishop Burnet, kept Hamilton as "a sort of prisoner of war;" and, after having confined the Irish soldiers for some time in the Isle of Wight, "gave them to the Emperor." These donative Irish defeated the liberality of the Prince to his ally by deserting from Germany into France.

Meanwhile; and pending the elections for the approaching convention, the Prince of Orange was actively employed in the administration. His first want was that of money. He applied for a loan of 200,000*l.* by letter to the aldermen and common-council, stating the necessity of an immediate supply to meet the charges of the navy, pay off part of the army, and secure the Protestant interest in Ireland. Subscription to the loan was regarded as a test of feeling towards the new order of things. One citizen, Sir Thomas Dashwood, subscribed 60,000*l.*; and the whole 200,000*l.* was collected by a deputation of four aldermen and eight common-

councilmen in four days.^a The sum thus raised was not applied in the manner, at least not in the proportions, contemplated by the lenders. The charge of Hamilton's inauspicious commission was all that went to the Protestant interest in Ireland.

Lord Dartmouth, upon the flight of the King, submitted himself and the fleet; first, by acknowledging the orders of the lords assembled at Guildhall; next, by a letter to the Prince of Orange.^b Narcissus Luttrell states, that "the English fleet regulated themselves, and turned out all Papists from among them." But Lord Dartmouth informs the King, that the Roman Catholic officers were removed in pursuance of the orders above mentioned.^c The fleet, partitioned by Lord Dartmouth between Sir John Berry and himself, was stationed, one division in the Downs, the other at Spithead, in an unserviceable condition. Lord Dartmouth intimates that it was in a bad state on the King's first flight;^d and an order issued by the Prince of Orange on the 16th of January, proved that the crews were afterwards thinned by desertion.^e

The Prince in his proclamation sets forth, that certain groundless reports, touching the uncertainty of the wages of the seamen, had produced discontents and disorders in the fleet; that many had, in consequence, left their ships without leave; that all wages and arrears should be paid, even to the absentees, if they returned to their duty within fifteen days; but if they did not return, they would not only forfeit their claims, but be proceeded against as deserters with the utmost rigour of the laws of the sea. This proclamation was censured. It was regarded as a hardship that the wages of past service to their lawful sovereign should be made dependent upon the continuance of the men in the service of another master. But there is no record of any punishment or deprivation; and to render the navy efficient, was, at the time, not only one of the first interests of the Prince of Orange, as chief of the league of Augsburg, but one of his first obligations as administrator of the three kingdoms. The fleets of Louis XIV. were beginning to be as formidable as his armies. His absolute authority and vast resources; the skill and valour of his Admirals, d'Estrées, Chateau-Renaud and Tourville; the activity and genius of his Minister of Marine, Seignelai, enabled him soon after, to wrest for a moment, from the English and Dutch, the empire of the sea.

^a Lut. Diary.

^b Id. ubi *supra*.

^c See his letter to King James on his flight in Dal. App.

^d Idem, ubi *supra*.

^e Gazette, 16 Jan. 1688-9.

The English people have never shown jealousy of the naval force as dangerous to their freedom. The sums employed by the Prince, in equipping and increasing the navy, produced no murmur. His conduct, with reference to the military force, was differently judged. An order issued by him to the army was condemned for the tone in which he, a provisional administrator for a period only of three weeks, anticipated the sovereignty to which he aspired; and it was made a ground of charge against him, both by the Tories,^a and the Whigs,^b that he new-modelled instead of paying off the army of King James. The censure of his proclamation appears to have been just. He proposed rewards, threatened punishments, and assumed the regal style of "our service," as if the sovereign power were already vested in him. There was, perhaps, in this tone, more of policy than usurpation. Having made up his mind to be nothing less than king, he was apprehensive of associating with his person, in the public mind, the idea of his governing otherwise than in his own right, at a moment when the question of his being appointed regent, in the name and during the life of King James, was already agitated.

The whole army was brought together and reviewed for the supposed purpose of being paid off and discharged to a large extent. The Prince merely dismissed some officers of doubtful fidelity, drafted the privates into other corps, appointed his favourites and followers to the vacant commissions, and bestowed regiments upon the general officers who had accompanied him from Holland, or joined him before the flight of the King. The Scotch regiment of Lord Dunbarton, 1500 strong, given, much against its inclination, to Marshal Schomberg, mutinied some time after upon being ordered to Holland. Both the sons of the Duke of Hamilton, notwithstanding the services of their father, were deprived of their regiments. Lord Arran's, it has been observed, was given to Lord Oxford; and Lord Selkirk's was bestowed on Colonel Godfrey, the brother-in-law of Lord Churchill. That lord's brother, Colonel Churchill, received the regiment of Oglethorpe, whom the Prince tried in vain to attach to his service.^c

The Jacobites charged the Prince with one of the very grievances which he had, in his declaration, urged against the King,—main-

^a Ralph, vol. ii. p. 10.

^b Anon. letter to K. William, ascribed to Wharton. Dal. App.

^c Life of King William.

taining a standing army, without consent of parliament, in time of peace. The Whigs condemned, much more sincerely, the course pursued by him, because the creation of a new army would have enlarged the field of military patronage. But the new modelling, rather than disbanding of the troops, appears to have been a measure of prudence and good intention, with reference not only to foreign war but to the defence of the country. The French fleet had already begun to capture English merchant ships, and Louis XIV. made no secret of his design to attempt the restoration of King James by an invasion of the British dominions. The new organisation, however, failed. The army of King James, when the Prince landed, was 32,000 strong, exclusive of officers.^a In January it was reduced to 15,000; in February, after the Prince became king, to 10,000 by desertion,^b and the officers appear to have been no less dissatisfied than the privates.^c

Other objects of more immediate interest, and more secret management, occupied the prince. The convention, which would disappoint or crown the ambition of his soul, was about to meet. The elections had taken, or rather received, such a direction as promised him a majority of the Commons;^d but he was threatened with a formidable opposition from the Lords. Various parties had sprung up. The Princess of Orange, the Princess Anne, the Prince of Wales, the forlorn King, and still more forlorn republic, had their respective pretensions and partisans. All places of public resort and conversation echoed, and the press teemed, with speculative schemes of government, and practical settlements of the nation. The more uncompromising high churchmen and Tories would have the King invited back, upon conditions which should secure the Protestant Establishment.^e Adda, who accompanied James as nuncio to St. Germain, writes to his court on the 31st of January, that according to letters from England brought to the King by a page of Lord Arran, this party comprised the bishops, or, as the nuncio calls them, "pretended bishops,"^f the men of note of the church party, and some great lords, among whom were the Duke of Somerset and Lords Nottingham and Pembroke.^g The recall of the King would, of course, establish the succession of the Prince of Wales. Others would appoint the Prince of Orange regent in

^a Preston MS. See App.

^b Prince's Proclamation.

^c Adda. Evelyn.

^d Lutt. Diary.

^e Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.

^f Pseudo-vescovi.

^g See App.

the name, and during the life, of the King. A third party would crown the Princess of Orange as next heir, to the exclusion of "the pretended Prince of Wales." Others, again, would place the Prince and Princess of Orange conjointly on the throne. A fourth party would place the crown on the head of the Prince. The republicans would have a commonwealth, with the Prince of Orange its first magistrate, invested with powers similar to those exercised by him as stadtholder in Holland.^a

The two extreme parties, of which one would recall the King, the other establish a republic, appear to have been unrepresented in the convention. Their sole organ was the press, and they made active, if not efficient, use of it.^b Few of those ephemeral, and for the most part anonymous, pamphlets, are worth citation or notice at the present day. The science of government and the popular intelligence have outgrown the notions of 1688. Those principles of liberty, which were then launched as bold truths, would now be received as common-places. The monarchical principles then defended as essential and sacred, have become exploded absurdities. There was indeed much sophistry, and subtlety, and self-interest; but these are of every age. Sherlock, dean of St. Paul's, was, for his hour, the Coryphæus of those who would recall the King. His "Letter to a Member of the Convention" was a sort of manifesto of the party. Burnet received orders to reply to it, and published his "Enquiry," as usual by authority. The high-church doctor afterwards took the oaths to King William, and was galled and stung with a general discharge of pasquinades and pamphlets for his apostasy. A single and short passage in his "Letter" is historically of some importance. It shows that the clergy were now ready to brand as an imposture what they had before received and repeated as a proved fact—the existence of a treaty between Louis XIV. and James for the destruction of the Protestants:—"There is," says he, "one thing more I would beg of you, that the story of a French league to cut Protestants' throats in England may be well examined; for this did more to drive the King out of the nation than the Prince's army. And if it should prove a sham, as some who pretend to know say it is, it seems at least to be half an argument to invite the King back again."

^a Adda. Evelyn.

^b The curious in such matters will find a mass of pamphlets to which the controversy gave rise, in "Somers' Tracts," and the State Tracts, temp. James II. and William III.

The most effectual weapons against an adversary are his own words. These were employed with skill and effect against the Prince of Orange. The Pensionary's letter to Stuart on the subject of the tests abounded with expressions of affection, gratitude, and duty on the part of the Prince and Princess to the King. They declared through Fagel, that they were resolved to continue in the same sentiments of affection and duty to His Majesty, or to increase them if possible. The passages expressing these unalterable or increasing sentiments of love and duty were selected and reprinted, with commentaries insidiously respectful, and the following memorandum appended by way of note:—"These singular expressions of affection and duty to the King their father were sent after those irregular and offensive measures of quo-warranting charters, the dispensing power, closeting, the ecclesiastical commission, and Magdalen College were practised." It is scarcely necessary to add that these were the leading grievances urged by the Prince in justification of his enterprise. The Prince of Orange had his full proportion of pamphleteers in the field, and he was personally a sort of idol whom none dared to attack,—to whom all parties offered homage, from inclination, interest, or fear. Yet the Prince and his Whig advisers, who had printed in Holland and circulated in England the most scandalous libels upon the King, issued a search-warrant, worthy of James II., the Charleses, and the Star-Chamber, after authors, printers, and sellers of unauthorised books and pamphlets.^a But the proofs are numberless and the fact indubitable, that the men of the Revolution of 1688 were as little disposed as their adversaries, whether Tories or Papists, to concede the free exercise of either human reason or religious conscience.

The general tenor of Sherlock's pamphlet shows, that a breach occurred very early between the Bishops and the Prince of Orange. No specific cause is assigned, and none probably existed. The

^a Whereas there are divers false, scandalous, and seditious books, papers of news, and pamphlets, daily printed and dispersed, containing idle and mistaken relations of what passes, with malicious reflections upon persons, to the disturbance of the public peace, which are published without any authority, contrary to the laws in that case provided; His Highness the Prince of Orange has thought fit to order and require the Master and Warden of the Company of Stationers, and Robert Stephens, late messenger of the press, to make diligent search in all printing-houses, and other places, and to apprehend all such authors, printers, book-sellers, hawkers, and others, as shall be found to print or disperse the same, and to have them before the next justice of peace, to the intent that they may be proceeded against according to law, for the due execution whereof all mayors, justices of the peace, and other officers, are required to be aiding and assisting them." London Gazette.

clergy and church party had the simplicity to expect that the Prince really came over to crush Popery, and deliver up the King, bound hand and foot, to the church, and, having thus accomplished his mission, to go back to Holland. They soon discovered their mistake. Sancroft is said to have perceived for the first time, when he attended the meeting of peers at Guildhall, the existence of a project to set aside King James.^a That prelate in consequence absented himself from their subsequent meetings, waited on the King when he returned from Feversham to Whitehall, made the feeble effort already stated to prevent the King's withdrawing himself from the realm, and held private consultations with other prelates, leading divines, and Tory lords and gentlemen.

The idea of bringing back James was soon abandoned. An assemblage of bishops, lay lords, and gentlemen at Lambeth, on the 16th of January, unanimously determined upon a regency in the King's name.^b Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, merely insinuated his favourite word "cession,"^c which Lord Clarendon, who was present at the meeting, ascribes to the influence exercised over him by Burnet. But it has been shown that Lloyd was much earlier a secret agent of the Prince of Orange, and attempted in that capacity to sound and tamper with the Bishop of Ely. This prelate was now a false brother in the councils of the bishops. He appears moreover to have been a man of sagacity and talent far above Burnet, and restrained by as few scruples. Conversing on public affairs with Wharton, chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in June, 1688, he predicted that popery would not survive the year in England, that a great catastrophe was at hand, that the common people, in their indignation, would probably rise in arms, drive all Papists out of England, and get rid of the King himself by banishment or by taking his life. Wharton, recording the conversation in his Latin Diary,^d throws in a parenthesis, "*quod factum nolumus*," with reference to the King. But the deprecatory present tense must apply to the time of writing, not to that at which the conversation was held; and he makes the Bishop begin his prophecy with the prospect of unclouded good fortune in the past tense,—"*Is fausta OMNIA sperare jussit*." The bishops contemplated laying before the convention a paper containing their reasons against setting aside King James or interfering with the succession.

^a D'Oyley's Life of Archb. Sanc.
^c Clar. Diary.

^b Evelyn's Diary. Clar. Diary.

^d D'Oyley's Life of Sancroft, App. 134.

Sancroft, a man of much industry and erudition, was charged with preparing it. From, perhaps, his constitutional timidity and neutral conduct, it was not presented.

The bishops and clergy, and high Tories, it has been observed, adopted a regency, in the King's name, as preferable to his recall. Some, probably, supported the appointment of a regent, not only as more congenial to the doctrines of the Tories and the Church, but as affording the only hope of ultimately re-establishing the King. This design was imputed to them expressly in the convention; and Burnet goes the length of asserting that the scruples of the more conscientious were satisfied by secret orders from King James to proceed in this manner.^a The republicans, despairing of their cause, joined those who would vest the royal authority, to all intents, in the Prince of Orange. By appointing or electing a king out of the line of succession, they conceived that they made a breach in the doctrine of hereditary indefeasible right, and a step in advance towards the sovereignty of the people. They also expected that, having a crown to bestow in one hand, and the terms on which it should be given in the other, they might limit and modify the regal power, and extend and strengthen the frontiers of popular liberty.^b But they were deceived and overpowered by their Whig allies, the Dutch favourites of the Prince of Orange, and that Prince himself.

There still remained three parties to dispute and determine the settlement of the government in the convention. These are specified with so much precision and authority by Archbishop Sancroft, that it may be advisable to cite his words. The following three ways were, he says, proposed for legally and securely settling the government:—

“ 1. To declare the commander of the foreign force king, and solemnly to crown him.

“ 2. To set up the next heir of the crown, after the King's death, and crown her; who, being the wife of the said commander, he will hereby have an interest in the conduct of the government in her right.

“ 3. To declare the King, by reason of such his principles, and his resolutions to act accordingly, incapable of the government,

^a Bur. vol. iii. p. 383. “Malice.” Swift, note, *ibid*.

^b Pamphlet cited in Ralph.

with which such principles and resolutions are inconsistent and incompatible; and to declare the commander *custos regni*, who shall carry on the government in the King's right and name."

The Prince of Wales and his rights were thus repudiated or passed over in these projected settlements. The republicans discarded him for his very claim of succession. The respective partisans of the Prince and Princess of Orange, who saw in him a dangerous competitor, branded the helpless infant in his cradle, not only with the disqualification of Popery at the age of six months, but with that of spurious blood. The imposture of a false heir figured prominently in the declaration of the Prince of Orange, and he pledged himself to prove it in a free parliament. The purpose of redeeming this pledge was entertained. Burnet was instructed to collect evidence in support of what may be called the case against the pretended prince.^a That accommodating divine undertook and executed one of the most unbecoming acts in the wide range of his miscellaneous services. The unfortunate King, conscious of his innocence, offered to assist the investigation by sending over those witnesses of the birth of the child who had accompanied him to France.^b It was thought prudent to abandon the enquiry, either from the conclusive force of the evidence already put on record by the King, or from the insufficiency of the case got up by Burnet. The Bishop says it was abandoned because a failure in the proof would have produced the worst consequences.^c It was opposed, he adds, by the republicans for a different reason. They affected to treat the succession with contemptuous indifference, and thought the existence of a pretender would keep the reigning princes upon their good behaviour to the people.^d The Bishop, to turn his labour to some account, introduced as a historian the evidence on one side thus raked together by him as a purveying advocate. To express astonishment at this would, perhaps, argue a want of due acquaintance with human nature and with Burnet; but it is inconceivable how he came to make the avowal.^e The High Church and Tory party, who contended for a regency, left the claims of the Prince of Wales dormant.

^a Bur. vol. iii. p. 387.

^b Life of K. James.

^c Bur. vol. iii. p. 388.

^d Burnet, vol. iii. p. 389.

^e Ibid. 390.

CHAPTER XIX.

Meetings and Proceedings of the Convention.—Settlement of the Crown.

THE convention of Lords and Commons met on the 22d of January, the day fixed for its assembling. Mr. Powle was re-elected to fill the chair of the Commons without opposition. The Lords elected Lord Halifax, in preference to Lord Danby. This was a good omen for the Prince. His very courtiers were divided as to the settlement of the crown. One party, chiefly composed of his Dutch followers, the English republicans, and those Whigs who either accompanied him from Holland or calculated upon his favour, sought to place him upon the throne. It is stated that the English companions of the Prince, before they left Holland, bound themselves by a secret oath not to lay down their arms until they had made him king.* The other, consisting of those Whigs who either were more scrupulous about the succession, or calculated that the Princess would outlive a husband of infirm health, exposed to the hardships and hazards of war, sought to vest the royal authority in the Princess as queen regnant, whilst the Prince should be but a titular king. The former, or Prince's party, was led by Lord Halifax; the latter by Lord Danby.

The convention being thus duly constituted in both houses, a letter in duplicate was placed in the hands of the respective speakers. It proved to be a letter addressed by King James from St. Germain, to the lords and others of his privy council in England. The exiled King repeated the compulsory motives of his flight, complained of fraud, cruelty, and calumny on the part of the Prince of Orange, renewed his promises of satisfaction to his people and to the Church, and only provoked a result which seemed to cut him off from all hope. His letter was rejected, unopened, by both houses.

* Letter of Albyville to Lord Preston. *Prest. Papers.*

The Prince opened the session with a letter to the Lords and Commons, equivalent to a King's speech from the throne. He had endeavoured, he told them, to execute his trust to the best of his power, and it now depended on themselves to secure their religion, liberties, and laws. He recommended a spirit of peace and union, and warned them against delay in their consultations, at a moment of great urgency at home and abroad, when the Protestants in Ireland needed immediate succour, and the States of Holland might require English aid and the return of their own troops to defend them against France. The two houses, immediately and unanimously, voted an address thanking him for his services, and requesting him to continue the administration. It will be remembered, that the Prince's authority expired with the meeting of the convention. The address was voted not only with unanimity, but with enthusiasm, by the Commons. Mr. Powle harangued them from the chair upon the everlasting topic of the Protestant interest in Ireland, the insatiable ambition and Popish animosity of Louis XIV., the necessity of subduing him, the glorious project of making the conquest of France, a second time, by English valour,—at least of recovering Normandy and Aquitaine, the rightful inheritance of English kings.* The rhetoric of the speaker was designed to serve the Prince of Orange, without naming him, for those visions of glory could be accomplished only by the Prince as their King. The assembly was transported, and the house rang with applause. The Lords were more tranquil, from a sense of dignity, or from secret disinclination. Both houses having voted, with the same unanimity, a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God, who had made his Highness the glorious instrument of their deliverance from popery and slavery, adjourned, and presented, the same day, in a body, the following joint address :

“ We, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, being highly sensible of the great deliverance of this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power, and that our preservation is (next under God) owing to your Highness, do return our most humble thanks and acknowledgments to your Highness, as the glorious instrument of so great a blessing to us. We do further acknowledge the great care your Highness has been pleased to take in the administration of the public affairs of the

* Ralph, vol. ii. p. 27.

kingdom to this time: and we do most humbly desire your Highness, that you will take upon you the administration of public affairs, both civil and military, and the disposal of the public revenues for the preservation of our religion, rights, laws, liberties, and properties, and of the peace of the nation; and that your Highness will take into your particualar care the present condition of Ireland, and endeavour, by the most speedy and effectual means, to prevent the dangers threatening that kingdom: all which we make our request to your Highness to undertake and exercise till further application shall be made by us, which shall be expedited with all convenient speed, and shall also use our utmost endeavours to give despatch to the matters recommended to us by your Highness's letter."

The representatives of the Commons, and the Lords spiritual and temporal of the realm, thus sanctified, by their unanimous vote, the enterprise of the Prince of Orange, and reinvested him with the executive government by a more formal title than he yet possessed. He delayed answering them until the next day, and his answer then was laconic and ungracious. "My Lords and Gentlemen," said he, "I am glad that what I have done hath pleased you; and as you desire me to continue the administration of affairs, I am willing to accept it. I must recommend to you the consideration of affairs abroad, which maketh it fit for you to expedite your business, not only for making a settlement at home upon a good foundation, but for the safety of Europe."

The tone of indifference with which he spoke on this and other occasions, previous and subsequent, could not have been sincere, and was scarcely politic. His ambition, his genius, his whole life, the notoriety of his vast designs, must have made his affectation palpable. The moroseness of his temper, however, may have had its influence, and he is said to have been disgusted not only with the opposition of the churchmen and Tories, but with those of his own party who supported the rights of the Princess his wife.* The two houses, upon receiving the report of this answer, adjourned over to the 26th, and again, without entering upon public business, from the 26th to the 28th. The only motion of any interest in the House of Commons, on the former day, was that their votes should be printed. The rejection of it is a distinctive trait in the

* Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, Account of the Revolution.

character of this popular assembly, and of the Revolution. A lively sensation is said to have been created for a moment, this day, in the House of Lords. Pemberton, Sawyer, and Finch were proposed among the lawyers who should be appointed to advise in matters of law. Lords Mordaunt and Delamere declared, with great warmth and vehemence, that "they would have none of those who had been instruments in the late reign: upon which," says the narrator, "a damp seized all the lords, as if they had been attacked, in flank and rear, with cannons and mortars, or with the thunder of Mount Sinai." The lawyers appointed were, Chief Baron Montague, Sir Robert Atkins, Sir William Dolben, Sir Creswell Leving, Sir John Holt, Sir Edward Neville, Messieurs Whitlock, Bradbury, and Petit.

This inaction of six days in the convention, notwithstanding the suggestion of the Prince and the real urgency of public affairs, could have proceeded from no slight cause. The most probable supposition is, that parties and their chiefs had not yet come to an understanding with the Prince or with each other. Extraordinary activity and excitement prevailed in the interval. It seemed to be known or felt that the settlement of the government was still an open question. The press was put in requisition with new industry and zeal. The republicans appealed in the last resort to the Prince of Orange by the memory and example of Andrew Doria, and his own illustrious ancestor. They should have recollected that he came over, not to play the part of Doria, but to prevent his being disinherited either by popery or by a republic. The succession of the Princess was strenuously maintained as essential to the monarchy. Those who defended the interests of the exiled king told the Prince, his honour lay in the strict redemption of the pledges in his first declaration; and that by acting the part of a disinterested generous deliverer he would show himself great without ambition, —a hero inspired with the Roman genius, which prized liberty above empire. The advocates of his own claims proclaimed, that the divine designation of a ruler of the people by a signal deliverance, was never more manifest in the theocracy of the Jews. Such were the flying sheets and half-sheets which issued from the press, like ephemera, to flutter for their hour, full of life and activity, and in every variety of hue. The extent to which measures were con-

* Ralph, vol. ii. p. 28. note.

certed and party arrangements made, will be best collected from the proceedings of the convention.

Hitherto the Lords had taken the lead. It was now taken by the Commons, or given to them by the Prince. He was naturally anxious to commence operations where he had the most strength. The Commons, on the 28th of January, entered upon the momentous question of the state of the nation, in a committee of the whole house. The sphere of discussion was thus vastly extended, for the members in a committee were not limited as to the number of their speeches. Mr. Hampden, grandson of the celebrated patriot of that name, was placed in the chair. Mr. Dolben, son of the late Archbishop of York, struck the first direct blow at the authority of King James. "I tell you freely my opinion," said he, "that the King is demised, and that James II. is no longer king of England." He argued that the King's withdrawing both himself and the great seal was a demise of the crown; and moved a resolution to that effect. It was a bold step, but did not satisfy the majority of the Commons. Either the Princess of Orange, or the Prince of Wales, upon a demise, would succeed as next heir. It was necessary to render the throne vacant before it could be occupied by the Prince. Sir Richard Temple, brother of Sir William, recounted the misdeeds of King James, and maintained that they created a vacancy of the throne. Sir Richard Musgrave, a leading Tory, asked the lawyers, whether by the law of England the King could be deposed. He was followed, not answered, by Wharton; and made a second appeal to the long robe, which called up Sergeant Maynard. This Nestor of the lawyers answered, that the question at issue was not whether they could depose King James, but whether King James had not deposed himself; and threw in inflammatory and irrelevant topics against the King, with the ignorance or bad faith of the meanest pettifogger. "The King," he said, "was a tyrant: he gave up Ireland to Irish hands (alluding doubtless to Tyrconnel). Was this to be endured? The late rebellion in Ireland was the work of Jesuits and priests, and 200,000 Protestants were massacred in it! This would happen in England if the King were recalled. There was not a popish prince in Europe who would not destroy all Protestants; and the gallant Prince, Don Carlos, because he inclined to Protestantism, was destroyed by the Inquisition and his own father, in Spain!" It would be superfluous to expose these monstrous falsifications. A member very perti-

mently reminded him, that he was not pleading at *Nisi Prius*. Somers, since called the great Lord Somers, cited as a precedent the case of Sigismund, King of Sweden; and concluded, that James II., by violating the original compact between king and people, and placing himself in the hand of a foreign and hostile power, absolved the people from their allegiance. Finch, son of Lord Nottingham, denied the possibility of a vacancy of the throne, without first supposing a state of nature, suggested the appointment of a regent, and disclaimed any desire to call back the King. "I have heard," says Sir Robert Howard, "that the King has his crown by divine right: we, the people, have a divine right too." He concluded with the opinion, that King James, by violating the laws, had *abdicated* the government, and the throne was vacant. Sir Robert Seymour, a Tory, but one of the first men of influence who joined the Prince at Exeter, argued with great warmth against the King's alleged abdication, and the vacancy of the throne. After a vain effort by the Tories to adjourn the debate, the committee came to the following memorable resolution:—"That King James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of this kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby become vacant." This resolution having been reported to the house, and agreed to, was placed in the hands of Mr. Hampden, chairman of the committee, to be by him carried up to the Lords.

Next day the state of the nation was resumed in a committee of the whole house, and the following resolution was agreed to—"That it hath been found by experience to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince." King James and his son were now disposed of by the Commons.

Warton, the same whose character as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was afterwards drawn with a pen of iron by Swift, threw out a suggestion of the happy prospects of the nation with the Prince and Princess of Orange raised to the throne. "It concerns us," says Lord Falkland in reply, "to take care that, as the Prince of Orange has secured us from popery, we may secure ourselves from arbitrary power. Before we consider whom we shall set upon the

throne, I would consider what powers we ought to give the crown." Sergeant Maynard deprecated the loss of time, was apprehensive of their undertaking too much, "of overloading their horses," and talked sneeringly of a new Magna Charta. Pollexfen said their first duty was to fill the throne: the proposed resolution to secure their liberties would but prepare for the return of King James; those who proposed it were their worst enemies; and if the noise of their binding the Prince were to go beyond sea, it would create confusion. "Will you," said Sir R. Seymour, in reply to the two Whig lawyers, "establish the crown and not secure yourselves? What care I for what is done abroad, if we must be slaves in England to this or that man's power? If people are drunk and rude below, as was complained of, must that stop proceedings in Parliament?" This last question appears to have been an allusion to the turbulent movements of the populace in support of the Prince of Orange. The scantiness and uncertainty of the parliamentary history at this period is a matter of regret. The Whigs and Tories would now appear to have changed places. The former became of a sudden strangely insensible to the importance of securing the rights and privileges of the subject. They were satisfied with deposing James and enthroning William, and would impose the triumph of their party and their idol as the triumph of the people. The Tories took the higher ground of securing the nation in its liberties, and to them belongs the chief merit of the subsequent declaration of rights.

Meanwhile the resolution sent up by the Commons was taken into consideration by the Lords. They, too, resolved themselves into a committee of the whole house, with Lord Danby in the chair. Lord Nottingham appeared as leader of the opposition. The system adopted by him and his party was indirect and curious. They denied the vacancy of the throne, but supposed it vacant for the purpose of deciding whether the executive power should be vested in a regent or a king. This was the great question. If it were determined in favour of a regent, the vacancy would be either immaterial or negatived. The only record of the debate is that left by Burnet; it is merely a general view of the arguments on both sides, without the names of the speakers. The negligent hardihood of his assertions and vocabulary render him a doubtful guide.

The chief supporters of Lord Nottingham were the brothers Clarendon and Rochester. It has been observed with what un-

generous zeal Lord Clarendon joined and counselled the Prince of Orange against the falling or fallen King. He was now as strenuously opposed to the Prince. Conscience, however mistaken, should be an object of respect; but this merit was denied to Lord Clarendon. His relapse was ascribed to his being disappointed in the hope of returning to the government of Ireland. Tyrconnel, in his feigned overtures of surrender, made it a condition that he should not be succeeded by his enemy whom he had displaced. The Prince was, in consequence, deaf to Lord Clarendon's suggestions and hopes. Those lords and their party maintained, that if upon any pretence the nation might depose its king, the crown would become elective and precarious; the right of judging the king would be acknowledged in the people, and the government would ultimately become republican. Lord Nottingham is said to have nearly carried with him a majority of the house by citing and arguing on the recent appointment of a regency in Portugal. This is scarcely credible. It was the case of a mere court revolution produced by court intrigue in a despotic monarchy. A precedent for the settlement of the British government might as well have been taken from Moscow or Constantinople. The queen of Portugal, a French princess, was disgusted with the brutalities of her husband, King Alphonso, loved his brother, Don Pedro, conceived the bold project of divorcing and dethroning the one, and making the other her husband, and regent of the kingdom; and succeeded by means of a dispensation from the pope, and her own dexterous and daring arts. Lords Halifax and Danby were the chief speakers on the other side. Differing in their ultimate views, they had a common interest in resisting the appointment of a regent. They maintained that a regency, which implied the right to deprive the King of all power, and on the admitted ground of his misgovernment, involved that of appointing another king in his place; that the government of a regent in the name of King James would perplex the mind and compromise the tranquillity of the nation, by presenting to it the anomaly of two kings; one with the right without the exercise, the other with the exercise without the right. The question was decided in favour of a king and against a regent on a division of fifty-one against forty-nine.

This was a close and alarming minority. The scale was turned by the absence of three peers, Lords Churchill, Huntingdon, and Mulgrave. Indisposition was the cause publicly assigned for the

absence of Lord Churchill : others accounted for it in a different manner. The Prince of Orange, according to the Duke of Buckingham, had come to an understanding with the Princess Anne, by a good bribe to the husband of Lady Churchill, her favourite, and an engagement to procure the settlement of a large pension by parliament upon herself.^a The Duchess of Marlborough, however, in the vindication of her life, which she published several years later, declares that, after having, for a time, counselled the Princess Anne to maintain against the Prince of Orange her place in the succession, she saw that opposition would be vain, advised the Princess to accept the pension, and took this step in the most disinterested spirit, with the sanction of Lady Russel and Doctor Tillotson. Sheffield Duke of Buckingham cast imputations upon his acquaintance and contemporaries with little scruple, and the Duchess had some credit for veracity; but avarice and venality were the vices of the Duke of Marlborough.

Of the [prelates, those of London and Bristol only voted in the majority. The general opposition of the spiritual peers has been ascribed by Kennet and Echard to their horror of the doctrine of deposing kings as "an art and part of popery," and this rash assertion is echoed by churchmen even at the present day.^b The popes, it is true, claimed a deposing power,—but as their spiritual and exclusive privilege; and both the Pope and Church of Rome would regard a rival pretension on the part of the lay people, with as much devout horror and prudent fear as the bishops and clergy of the Church of England. The attempt to identify two principles opposite as the poles, only shows that theologians will break through all restraints of good faith and discretion in their eagerness to defame a rival creed.

The Lords, with more method and perspicuity, resolved the encumbered resolution of the Commons into several distinct propositions. On the 30th of January they put the question, whether there was an original contract between king and people, and decided in the affirmative by a majority of fifty-three to forty-six. The number present upon this division was thus less than on the former by three; and the majority gained an accession of six, among whom are reckoned the Dukes of Ormond, Southampton, Grafton, and Northumberland. It was next voted that the original

^a Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, Account of the Revolution.

^b See D'Oyley's *Life of Sancroft*.

contract had been violated by King James, and apparently without a division. The question on both resolutions, but particularly on the former, was the beaten one between the divine right of kings and the natural right of the people.

The next day, January 31st, was that appointed for a solemn thanksgiving. Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, had been appointed to preach before the Lords, and Burnet, as chaplain to the Prince, before the Commons. The Bishop excused himself on the pretence, it is called, of indisposition, and the honour was so little desired, that it came down to Dr. Gee, another of the Prince's chaplains. According to Sir John Reresby, the demonstrations of joy were languid. Other contemporaries state that the day was strictly kept, that sermons were preached in all the churches, and that there were bonfires and ringing of bells in the evening.^a The Lords, after the service of thanksgiving, immediately resumed their deliberations, and voted two most important amendments to the resolution of the Commons: the first, the substitution of the word "deserted" for the word "abdicated;" the second, that the words, "and that the throne is thereby become vacant," should be left out. These amendments were not carried without vehement debate, no traces of which remain beyond the loose and general terms of Bishop Burnet. The majority was eleven.

The King having been thus declared to have deserted the throne, and the throne declared not vacant, either the Prince of Wales or the Princess of Orange must of necessity have succeeded as next heir. A motion was made—by whom does not appear—for an enquiry into the birth of the pretended Prince of Wales, and rejected with indignation.^b It was next moved that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared king and queen: this motion was also negatived by a majority of five. The court party, as that of the Prince of Orange was now called, looked upon their cause—or what was either the same thing, or touched them more nearly—their interests and their safety, in fearful hazard. A petition, palpably designed to intimidate the House of Lords, was got up in the city by threats and violence. It was carried from house to house, presented to persons in the streets and other public places for signature, and borne or escorted by a mob to the very doors of the convention. The prayer, or admonition rather,

^a Lett. Diary.

^b Burnet, vol. iii. 295.

of the petitioners was, in substance, that the Protestant interest was in extreme peril, and could be secured only by the immediate elevation of the Prince and Princess of Orange to the throne. Notwithstanding the means taken to obtain signatures, the petition was presented to the Lords unsigned, and on that ground only rejected by them as informal. The Commons more frankly rejected it, as a violation of the freedom of their deliberations. The Prince and his friends were suspected and accused of having contrived this turbulent movement of the populace to overawe the Lords.^a They vindicated themselves by the lord mayor's prohibition, issued in pursuance of orders from the Prince. This defence was insufficient: the petition was carried up on the 31st of January, and the lord mayor's proclamation, dated the 4th of February^b, begins with stating, that the Prince's pleasure had been signified to him that day. A tardy prohibition, which allowed the terror of being "dewitted" to operate, during five days, upon the imaginations of the refractory lords and almost all the bishops, either favours the charge or proves nothing. But there is no direct evidence to implicate the Prince or those about him, and movements of the rabble are easily and most frequently produced by their own passions.

A motion was made, on the 1st of February, that the amendments should be sent down to the Commons. This produced a second vehement debate, and the division of the preceding day in the affirmative. Forty peers, at the head of whom were the rival politicians, Halifax and Danby, recorded their protests. The vote of the Commons, declaring popery a disqualification for the throne, was at the same time agreed to unanimously; and it was ordered, with the same unanimity, that the anniversary of the accession of King James, on the 6th of February, should not be observed. The two last motions neither propitiated the Commons, nor screened the majority of the Lords from the suspicion and express charge of secretly designing to bring back the King.^c On the 2d of February the amendments of the Lords were brought down to the Commons. After a short discussion, they were severally rejected, and a committee appointed to prepare reasons for this vote, to be submitted in a conference with the upper house. The Commons then adjourned over from Saturday the 2d to Monday

^a Reresby, 310.^b Lutt. Diary.^c Parl. Hist. vol. v. Interreg.

the 4th of February. Mr. Hampden, chairman of the committee, reported the following reasons, which are inserted because they embody, in the most compact and authentic form, an abstract of the arguments of the Commons.

“To the first amendment proposed by the Lords to be made to the vote of the Commons of the 28th of January, instead of the word ‘abdicated,’ to insert the word ‘deserted,’ the Commons do not agree; because the word ‘deserted’ doth not fully express the conclusion necessarily inferred from the premises to which your Lordships have agreed; for your Lordships have agreed that King James II. hath endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people, and hath violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom. Now the word ‘deserted’ respects only the withdrawing, but the word, ‘abdicated’ respects the whole; for which purpose the Commons made choice of it. The Commons do not agree to the second amendment, to leave out the words, ‘And that the throne is thereby vacant.’ 1. Because they conceive that as they may well infer from so much of their own vote as your Lordships have agreed unto, that King James II. has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant; so that if they should admit your Lordships’ amendment, that he hath only deserted the government, yet even thence it would follow that the throne is vacant as to King James II.; deserting the government being, in true construction, deserting the throne. 2. The Commons conceive they need not prove unto your Lordships, that as to any other person the throne is also vacant; your Lordships (as they conceive) have already admitted it by your addressing to the Prince of Orange the 25th of December last, to take upon him the administration of public affairs, both civil and military; and to take into his care the kingdom of Ireland, till the meeting of this convention. In pursuance of such letters, and by your Lordships renewing the same address to his Highness (as to public affairs and the kingdom of Ireland) since you met, and by appointing days of public thanksgivings to be observed throughout the whole kingdom, all which the Commons conceive do imply, that it was your Lordships’ opinion that the throne was vacant, and to signify so much to the people of this kingdom. 3. It is from those who are upon the throne of England (when there are any such) from whom the people of England ought to receive

protection; and to whom, for that cause, they owe the allegiance of subjects; but there being none now from whom they expect regal protection, and to whom, for that cause, they owe the allegiance of subjects, the Commons conceive the throne is vacant."

A conference having been proposed and accepted, the members of the same committee were appointed to manage it. Mr. Hampden, next day, reported to the house, that the conference had taken place, that the Lords persisted in their amendments, and that Lord Nottingham stated their reasons to the following effect:—"That the Lords did insist upon the first amendment of the vote of the House of Commons, of the 28th of January last, instead of the word 'abdicated' to have the word 'deserted.' 1. Because the Lords do not find that the word 'abdicated' is a word known to the common law of England; and the Lords hope the Commons will agree to make use of such words only whereof the meaning may be understood according to law, and not of such as will be liable to doubtful interpretations. 2. Because in the most common acceptation of the civil law, abdication is a voluntary express act of renunciation, which is not in this case, and doth not follow from the premises, that King James II. by having withdrawn himself, after having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the government, by breaking the original contract between king and people, and having violated the fundamental laws, may be more properly said to have abdicated than deserted." He said, the Lords did insist on the second amendment to leave out the words, "and that the throne is vacant," for this reason: "for that although the Lords have agreed that the King has deserted the government, and therefore have made application to the Prince of Orange to take upon him the administration of the government, and thereby to provide for the peace and safety of the kingdom, yet there can be no other inference drawn from thence, but only that the exercise of the government by King James II. is ceased, so as the Lords were and are willing to secure the nation against the return of the said king into this kingdom; but not that there was either such an abdication by him, or such a vacancy in the throne, as that the crown was thereby become elective, to which they cannot agree: 1. Because, by the constitution of the government, the monarchy is hereditary and not elective. 2. Because no act of the king alone can bar or destroy the right of his heirs to the crown; and,

therefore, in answer to the third reason alleged by the Commons, if the throne be vacant of King James II., allegiance is due to such person as the right of succession doth belong to."

The Commons again put the question upon the Lord's amendments, and rejected the first, substituting desertion for abdication, without a division; the second, denying the vacancy of the throne, by a majority of 282 to 151. The dissentient Tories, in the House of Commons, had allowed the amendments to be rejected without dividing, when sent down on the preceding Saturday. It may be presumed that they employed the Sunday's recess in concerting their operations and rallying their force, and the result was the above respectable if not formidable minority.

The Commons now desired a free conference with the Lords, on the subject matter of the last conference, and appointed managers. The Lords acceded, and appointed managers on their behalf. No conference on record has involved, before or since, matters of such moment. A direct rupture between the two great orders of the state and the community, an executive power irregular or usurped, civil war, with the aggravation of foreign troops already lodged in the bosom of the country—these were among the consequences to be apprehended from its failure. Both Houses selected from their respective majorities the members most dexterous in debate, or who had most weight of character. Many of them were persons eminent in their day; but there are few names truly historic. The chief speakers were, on behalf of the Commons, Hampden, Somers, Holt, Maynard, Pollexfen, Temple (Sir Richard), Howard (Sir Robert), Treby (Sir George), Sacheverell; on the side of the Lords, Nottingham, Clarendon, Rochester, Turner Bishop of Ely, Pembroke.

The discussion was opened by Hampden. He maintained the propriety of using the term "abdicated," as more comprehensive than "deserted," and called upon the Lords to admit the vacancy of the throne, or declare who filled it. Somers, who came next, confined himself to the word "abdicated." He cited jurists and lexicographers, Grotius, Brisonius, Budeus, Spigelius, and the code, to prove that desertion was an abandonment, admitting the right to return and resume—abdication, an absolute, irrevocable renunciation; and therefore the more proper word: first, as a consequence from the King's violation of the original contract, which the Lords had voted; next, as effectually shutting out King James,

which object the Lords professed. Holt took the same views, with less of verbal criticism, and upon broader principles. He denied that to abdicate implied an express voluntary act of renunciation, and maintained that both by the common law of England, and the civil law, there may be a renunciation by acts done, without any express voluntary deed or document. The government and the magistracy were, he said, a trust, and to act in a manner inconsistent with, or subversive of that trust, was the most decisive disclaimer of it. Both these eminent lawyers maintained, that the non-use of the term "abdication" in the law books was no objection, for it was a word of known signification, used by the best authors, and neither was the word "desertion" known to the common law. Lord Nottingham interposing, narrowed the discussion, and brought it to its true bearing. The main objection, he said, of the Lords to the term "abdicated," lay in the consequence which the Commons appeared to draw from it, that the throne was thereby vacant. "Whether," said he, "do you mean that the throne is so vacant as to null the succession in the hereditary line, which we say will make the crown elective?" Sergeant Maynard, instead of meeting the question, indulged in vague common-places, and the analogies of vulgar advocacy at the bar. "Supplying a present defect in the government would not," he said, "make the crown elective. The Commons apprehended there was such a defect, and a present necessity to supply it. If," said he, "the attempting the utter destruction of the subject and subversion of the constitution be not as much an abdication as the attempting of a father to cut his son's throat, I know not what is." It may be remarked, in passing, that the Lords admitted all this; and, according to his own analogy, proposed to appoint a regent in the one case, as a guardian would have been appointed in the other. He urged, in conclusion, that "the Commons did not mean to say the crown of England was always and perpetually elective;" and thus left it to be understood, by implication, that the Commons did mean the crown of England to be elective for that time.

Turner, Bishop of Ely, in reference to what had fallen from Somers, admitted that, according to Grotius, there might be an abdication by mere overt acts; but said that Grotius interposed this caution,—provided there be no yielding to the times; no forsaking merely for the present, with the purpose of returning; nothing of force or just fear. "I speak not," said he, "of mal-

administration now: of that hereafter." The Bishop referred to Somers by name. It would be expected that the latter should have risen to vindicate his own argument; but the point was taken up by Maynard, who threw aside the argument and authorities of his junior colleague, with a presumption which may excite a smile, at this day, upon a retrospect of the two men. "We have, indeed," said he, "for your Lordships' satisfaction, shown its meaning in foreign authors; but we are not, I hope, going to learn English from foreign authors. It is an English word, and we can, without their aid, tell the meaning of our own tongue." Then returning to the expressly excepted question of mal-administration, he illustrates it once more by a pettifogging analogy:—"If two of us," said he, "make an agreement to help and defend each other from any one that should assault us in a journey, and he that is with me turns upon me and breaks my head, he has undoubtedly abdicated my assistance and revoked the said agreement." The Bishop resumed, and discussed the question upon broad principles, in a tone of good faith which contrasted very perceptibly and favourably with the manner of the Commons. He cited and adopted the distinction of Grotius, between a right, and the exercise of it: admitted that the exercise of the right may be vacated in two ways; the one, natural incapacity, such as lunacy, infancy, doting old age, or disease which excluded human intercourse,—the other moral, such as "a full and irremovable persuasion in a false religion, contrary to the doctrines of Christianity." It may be asked in passing, how this incapacity of "a false religion" is to be determined and agreed on? Popery is a false religion, and contrary to Christianity, in the conviction of Protestants; Protestantism the same, in the conviction of Catholics; and Episcopacy, whether popish or protestant, is, or then was, Anti-Christ to the Presbyterians. But the Bishop afterwards meets the objection in some measure, by using the phrase "contrariety of religion,"—meaning contrariety to that of the great mass of the nation. He contended, that in a hereditary monarchy, the vacant exercise of the government resulting from either of those incapacities, moral or physical, should be supplied, by vesting the exercise and that only, in another person, and leaving the line of succession, and the right itself, inviolate. "If, however," said the Bishop in conclusion, "it be declared that this 'abdication' of James II.

reaches no further than himself, and the right line of succession shall be continued, that, I hope, will make all of one mind in this important affair."

To appreciate this last suggestion of the Bishop, it should be remembered that the two daughters of James were bred up in the belief that the word "Church" embraced not only the established religion, but the State and Constitution, and even all the public virtue in the realm. The Princess Anne designated the High Church or High Tory by the name of the honest party. The Tories, however, it should in justice be allowed, had at least an equal share of public honesty and independence. The Bishops and High Church party would have willingly capitulated with the Commons, if the succession were declared in the Princesses of Orange and Denmark, to the exclusion of the Calvinist or conforming Prince of Orange; but this did not suit the views of the Commons, and the overture of the Bishop of Ely was not even noticed in the conference.

Lord Clarendon maintained that no act of the King alone could bar or destroy the right of his heir: and observed, in reply to Serjeant Maynard, that if they broke through the line of succession then, others coming after them might take the same liberty, with the further justification of an express precedent. Lord Nottingham proposed that the question of abdication should be postponed, and that of vacancy disposed of first. It was urged by Sir George Treby, that this would be passing over the premise, to discuss the conclusion. Lord Nottingham rejoined, that he understood the "abdication" to be itself a conclusion, drawn from the first proposition, that the King had violated the original contract, and that the vacancy of the throne was merely joined with it by a copulative, as a second conclusion from the same premises. He suggested that some third term, which would limit the vacation of the throne to King James, might be found, and thus the two Houses might agree on the supposition which he made; and the Commons, he supposed, would admit that it was not their intention to break the line of descent. The Commons were deaf to this overture; and Sir George Treby, whilst he contended for the word "abdicated," was obliged to admit to Lord Nottingham, "that it was in the nature of," as he expressed it, "a double conclusion." This dispute arose from the confused and illogical language of the resolution. Sir George Treby, having referred to the abdication of Charles V., was inter-

rupted by Lord Pembroke with the remark, that the abdication of that Prince was an express and solemn act. This is all that is assigned here to Lord Pembroke by the Parliamentary History; but it appears from another authority, that he compared the King's flight to that of a man who ran out of a house because it was on fire, or that of a merchant who threw his goods overboard in a storm to save his life; neither of which could be construed an absolute renunciation.* Lord Nottingham urged the maxim, so called, of the constitution, that the King can do no wrong,—a pernicious ambiguity, calculated to delude kings; and Lord Clarendon said, that the expression of breaking the original contract was new in that place, and not to be found in their law books or records. The Commons admitted that the King's ministers and officers, not himself, were responsible, but only where the instances of misgovernment were slight and few; and reminded Lord Clarendon, with something near sarcastic triumph, that he was concluded by the vote of the Lords, affirming the existence and the breach of the original contract. Lord Rochester repeated the suggestion, that if the Commons declared their meaning to be that King James had abdicated only for himself, both sides might concur. A pause followed; and Hampden proposed that they should proceed to the second amendment. No peer objected, and the Commons acted upon this as a tacit assent.

A long and laboured discussion now followed upon the vacancy of the throne. The same arguments were repeated and reiterated with a fatiguing monotony. Sacheverel said, that if King James had merely lost the exercise, and continued in the office, and was still King, all the acts hitherto done by the convention in both Houses were unwarrantable, and the nation could not relieve itself. Pollexfen, in an argument at once subtle and perplexed, contended that the power and the exercise of the power were the same; that to deprive King James of the exercise of his power, was to deprive him of his kingship, which the Lords therefore had already done by vesting the administration in the Prince of Orange. Lord Clarendon asked whether the throne in their sense was vacant as to King James only, or also as to him, his heirs and successors? Pollexfen, instead of answering, put another question,—Whether, as they denied the vacancy of the throne, they would be pleased to state who filled

* Burnet, vol. iii. 386. Note of Lord Dartmouth.

it? Lord Pembroke made a good reply,—that admitting the existence of an heir, the throne was not the less full, because they could not, at the moment, name that heir between two or more persons. Serjeant Maynard answered this by urging the maxim of law, that no man has an heir while he lives,—thus applying rigorously a legal maxim, having reference rather to other descents than those of the crown, and in an unforeseen and unprecedented emergency, for which the law, by his own admission, did not provide. The Lords urged, with more soundness and fairness, that their business was to adhere to the spirit of the law where the letter was wanting, and to regard the King's desertion of the government as a civil death, by which, as by his natural death, the crown should descend to the next heir. The case of Richard II., in which the throne was declared vacant, as appeared on the face of the record, was cited by Somers. Rochester and Clarendon replied, that Richard II. had resigned the crown by a formal instrument. Neither side could gain much by this precedent. Fraud and violence silenced right and law in almost every part of the transaction. Sir Robert Howard found in it a precedent of election: for the Earl of March, he said, not Henry IV., was next heir; cited the maxim, *salus populi suprema lex esto*;" asked those who were so scrupulous about the lineal succession, whether they had not already broken it by excluding a Popish heir; and whether they should not resort to election, if no Protestant heir remained. The Earl of Nottingham recapitulated the case of the Lords:—"You seem," said he to the Commons, "to understand your own words to mean less than they really import. You would not make the kingdom elective, and yet you talk of supplying the vacancy by the Lords and Commons. You do not say that the King has abdicated the crown for himself and his heirs, yet you speak of a vacancy, and say nothing of a succession. You do not tell us what you mean. If you mean by abdication and vacancy, only that the King has left the government, and it is devolved on the next heir, we may agree. Any government is better than none. I desire earnestly we may enjoy our ancient constitution." Temple, Foley and Eyre spoke on behalf of the Commons, and the discussion terminated.

The subject-matter and debates in this memorable conference have been declared pedantic and puerile by Bishop Burnet, and other writers of more unbiassed temper; and the Bishop further

says, that, according to the sense of the whole nation, the Commons had the advantage. The comparative merits should not be judged from the above glimpse of the arguments; but those who read the full debate careful and impartially will hardly agree with either opinion. There was much of verbal criticism in the discussion, but the subject-matter consisted of the two antagonist principles of passive obedience and indefeasible succession on the one side; the natural right of the community to resist, control, modify, or elect its government, on the other. Both parties had their reservations, and placed themselves in what is somewhat affectedly but very intelligibly called a false position. The High Church and Tory Lords abandoned more than they avowed of their professed doctrines. The Whigs acted to a much greater extent than they avowed, upon the principle since called the sovereignty of the people. But the Lords were, of the two, the more ingenious and consistent in their principles and arguments.

The resolution of the Commons was so deficient in perspicuity and logic, that one of their managers, after, it has been observed, calling the abdication a premise, admitted it to be a conclusion, and then sought refuge in the solecism of a double conclusion. The substance of it in a logical form may stand thus:—The King, by violating the original contract, abdicated; and by abdicating, vacated the throne. It was a sort of *sorites*, in which the abdication was intended to be a conclusion as to what goes immediately before, and a premise as to what immediately follows. But, in point of fact or logic, it was neither the one nor the other. It is of the essence of abdication, that it should be free. Every abdication recorded by Livy, from the first dictatorship down to the abdication of Sylla, is voluntary. Grotius says it must be voluntary and free, whether done by inconsistent overt-act or by express renunciation. The Commons said that King James had, even in this sense of the term, abdicated, because he, of his free will, committed those violations of the original contract, of which his abdication, so called, was the consequence. Now, if this be admitted, and King James voluntarily deposed himself, it will follow that the judicial execution of a criminal is a suicide; for the criminal voluntarily committed the crime by which his life became forfeit. Here the language of the law and of the community suggests the proper word “forfeiture,” which should have been applied to James II. Forfeiture, not abdication, is the true

conclusion, from the violation of the original contract as a premise. To take abdication as a premise: — Did King James, by abdicating (supposing for a moment that he did abdicate), thereby vacate the throne? Grotius, in the very citation of Somers, says, "*Jure naturali quisque suum potest abdicare.*" But a life right only, not a perpetuity, was vested in King James, who therefore could abdicate only the life right, and not the inheritance. Abdication, therefore, was not a premise from which the vacancy of the throne would follow as a consequence. Let the word forfeiture be substituted, and the vacancy will follow as a resistless conclusion. It is true, Sergeant Maynard tried to prop up the false consequence deduced by the Commons with the maxim, *Nemo est hæres viventis*; but the men of more enlarged sense and principles on his side disdained to take it up.

The Whigs of 1688 took a narrow view of the national emergency, and their own mission. They should have achieved the Revolution as a great original transaction, and sought precedents to justify it, among similar transactions in the annals of mankind. Grotius, whose authority was often quoted, and implicitly respected on both sides, would have supplied a historic precedent of more weight than his abstractions. *Philippo ob violatas leges imperium abrogatum*, says he, speaking of the Dutch revolution. It appears that the Republicans in the interest of the Prince of Orange proposed that a formal sentence of forfeiture should be pronounced against James II., and that the Prince should be as formally elected king.^a But this, says Burnet, was over-ruled in the beginning.^b The word "forfeiture" was thrown out in the debate, but by whom does not appear. The Whigs of 1688 were secretly as jealous as the Tories of admitting, whilst for their purposes they acted upon, the natural inherent and inalienable right of the community over its government. Hence their adoption of the poor quibble, that James II. had deposed himself. Bishop Burnet, the historian of the party, said they meanly used the ambiguous word "abdication" for its very ambiguity.^c It would appear that Burnet himself—at least in verbal discussion—maintained the forfeiture. "Dr. Burnet is to maintain his notion of a forfeiture," says Turner, Bishop of

^a Burnet, vol. iii. 397. ^b Burnet, vol. iii. p. 397. ^c Parl. Hist. vol. v. p. 61.

^d Burnet, vol. iii. p. 386. 2d Oxf. ed. The passage is printed for the first time among the additions in the second Oxford edition. The word "abdicate," he says, "had a meanness in it, because of the dubious sense of it, and as it was used for that reason."

Ely, writing to Archbishop Sancroft respecting an expected meeting at Ely House.^a

The Commons, upon the termination of the conference, adjourned to the next day, leaving the Lords to debate once more whether they should abandon or persevere in their amendments. It is necessary meanwhile to cast a retrospective glance over the proceedings without doors.

The Prince of Orange, whilst the pending settlement of the crown was disputed with heat, strife, and dubious success, lived in seclusion at St. James's, seeking no popularity, courting no party, difficult of access, hearing what was said by those whom he admitted, and never opening his mind.^b This conduct was great if he was sincere, wise even if he was not, according to a high authority.^c Personal temper and particular disgusts probably had their share in it.

Two persons only are said to have possessed his entire confidence, and but one of them his affection. These were, Bentinck, afterwards Lord Portland, his countryman; and Colonel Sidney, afterwards Lord Romney, his chief agent in the affairs and intrigues of England before the Revolution. Sidney, though abandoned to adventures of gallantry and dissipation in the licentious court of Charles II., had some portion of his brother's love of liberty, without being, like him, a Republican; obtained the political confidence of the Prince of Orange; and repented his share in raising him to the throne.^d Bentinck, of more accordant temper and character, had both his confidence and friendship. Lords Danby, Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Mordaunt, and Delamere, partook the hazards of his enterprise; and Lord Halifax atoned for his earlier backwardness, by his influence as a party leader, his adroitness and services as an intriguer, and the minor merit of his talents. All these shared, at this critical moment, the counsels of the Prince, with little of personal liking or public trust on either side.

Upon the prolongation of the debates, the Prince's ambition became impatient, or he was alarmed for the result. He summoned Lords Halifax, Danby, Shrewsbury, and some others of the above list, who are not named,^e informed them that he had been hitherto

^a Letter, dated Jan. 11. 1688-89. D'Oyley's Life of Sancroft, p. 424.

^b Burnet, vol. iii. 394.

^c Speaker Onslow, note. Burnet, *ibid*.

^d Sidney told me, he repented a hundred times embarking in the Revolution.

Hal. MS.

^e Burnet, vol. iii. 395.

silent, lest he should interfere with the deliberations of the two Houses; that as to the appointment of a regency, he had no objection, but they must look out for some other regent than himself; that as to placing the Princess on the throne, and making him king by courtesy as her husband, he esteemed her exceedingly, but would not hold by her apron strings; that if he was to be king, it must be for his own life, not for hers only; that he would, however, yield precedence in the succession to the issue of the Princess of Denmark over his own by another marriage; that if they thought it for their interest to make a different settlement, he should go contentedly back to Holland;—in fine, that whatever others might suppose, he set little value on a crown.^a

The Prince of Orange had real grandeur of character. Whilst first magistrate of a simple, frugal, and free Republic, he found himself the chosen leader of a great confederacy of sovereign princes, to check and humble the most powerful monarch of Europe. He may therefore have really looked down with indifference upon the mere title of a king, and seen in a crown nothing more than a bauble. But he was ambitious, and could not therefore have been indifferent to power: he had great designs, and could not have been indifferent to the crown of England, without which he could not achieve them; and he well knew that the Hollanders would be grievously disappointed if he went back. The more jealous republicans would have preferred his ruin to his return. The establishment of his ascendancy in England to the exclusion of a Catholic successor on the one side, and of a republic on the other, was the great object of common and deep interest to the States General and to himself, which he held out to the States as a motive for placing at his disposal their army, their fleet, and their funds. His expressed willingness to leave the English to settle their own affairs has been justly regarded as a covert menace.^b It is stated that he even directly threatened that he would depart with his army, and leave his friends to the justice of King James.^c

This threat, though the most effective that could be employed by him, had not an immediate or entire success. He insisted that his wife should be a mere queen-consort. This was conveyed through Bentinck. Some of his friends were indignant on finding his love

^a Burnet, vol. iii. 395, 396.

^b Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham. Account of the Rev.

^c Life of K. James, vol. ii. 306.

of power so jealous and insatiable.* Lord Halifax alone went the whole length with him. The rival leader, Lord Danby, insisted on the rights of the Princess as next heir. In the course of a warm dispute between them on the subject during a party consultation at the house of Lord Devonshire, Fagel was called upon to declare the sentiments of the Prince. He, with some reluctance in seeming, gave it merely as his own notion, that the Prince of Orange would not like to be his wife's gentleman usher. Lord Danby said he hoped they all knew enough now; for his part he knew too much, and the consultation ended.^b Herbert, brother of the admiral, described as an interested courtier, upon hearing that the Prince refused all participation in the throne to the Princess otherwise than as queen-consort, rose out of bed in a severe fit of gout, and declared, with vehemence, that if he had expected this he never would have drawn his sword for the Prince of Orange.^c

The murmurs of his party made the Prince somewhat less exacting. Those who supported the interests of the Princess were at the same time not only not encouraged, but sharply rebuked by her. Lord Danby had sent over a messenger with a letter, informing her of the proceedings in the convention, and offering to obtain her, if she chose, the undivided sovereignty. She replied that she was the Prince's wife, and would be nothing more; that she should not regard as her friend any person who would create division between them, and proved that these were not idle words, by sending Lord Danby's letter to her husband. It is added by Burnet, the Prince, with his usual phlegm, used not the slightest expostulation with Lord Danby, continued to employ and trust him, and made him successively a marquis and a duke.^d The Prince of Orange, who viewed men without confidence, and human nature without respect, was doubtless too much of a politician to quarrel with Lord Danby at the crisis of his fortunes; and King William employed and advanced him and others, whom he disliked and distrusted, and used as mere instruments of his policy and government.

The result of all this was a compromise. Bentinck brought a conciliatory message^e from the Prince. He conceded that the

* Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham. Account of the Rev.

^b Burnet, vol. iii. 394, note of Lord Dartmouth — also in Dal. App.

^c Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham. Account of the Rev.

^d Burnet, vol. iii. 391.

^e Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham. Account of the Rev.

Princess should be named with him in all acts of government and administration; and the supporters of the Princess agreed that the prerogatives of the crown and the administration of public affairs should be vested solely in him.

Burnet performed one of his accustomed services: It will be remembered that, by his account, he sounded the Princess on the subject of the Prince's situation, if she succeeded to the crown, or father, that he settled with her, of his own authority, the contingent succession and exercise of the executive power. That conversation was not to be disclosed without leave of the Princess. The Bishop states, that having consulted the Prince, and being left by him to his own discretion, he ventured, under the circumstances, to disclose it in violation of his pledge; that the disclosure amazed, but fully satisfied, many people, who said the Princess was either a very good or very weak woman, and that she on her arrival fully approved his conduct.

The Prince thus obtained the substance, conceded but a shadow, and might have retained the shadow too were it worth disputing. The nation was at his mercy in every sense. There was nothing to oppose him if he spoke the language of command. The mass of the nation, with its fanatical intolerance of popery and fears for protestantism, would have supported in any usurpation one who could appeal to them as Protestants, with the supreme power of the state in his hands, and a foreign army at his back. If, again, he retired with his Dutch troops to Holland, there was no known leader endowed with the requisite superiority of genius, virtue, or ambition, to take his place, and, either as a patriot or usurper, protect parties and the nation against the restoration, tyranny, and vengeance of the King. Lord Halifax, whose accomplishments and sagacity form so humiliating a contrast with his mean intrigues, told him most truly, on his arrival at St. James's, that he might be what he pleased, for nobody knew what to do with him or without him.^a

Arrangements, it has been stated, were made with the Princess Anne for the ceding of her place in the line of succession. Her friends complained and murmured, but Bishop Burnet states that she disavowed them.^b According to others, she was disappointed and perplexed.^c But the Prince had the game completely in his hands; and all opposition, even that of the Lords, gave way.

^a Burnet, vol. iii. 393, note of Lord Dartmouth.
^c Sir John Reresby. Clar. Diary.

^b Burnet.

The managers of the Lords having made their report, the abdication and vacancy were discussed with renewed ardour on both sides. Lords Halifax and Danby joined in recommending the simple adoption of the resolution of the Commons. The amendments were abandoned, and the resolution agreed to by a majority of only two or three, according to some,^a of four, according to others.^b

It is a distinctive trait in the conduct of parties and individuals in the Revolution to atone for defeated or unprofitable virtue by sudden and servile transitions to compliance. The Lords, having voted the throne vacant, took the initiative in filling it. They voted by a majority of sixty-five to forty-five, that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared king and queen of England and all the dominions thereunto belonging, and framed and voted a new oath of allegiance. These resolutions were passed on the 6th of February. Next day it was moved, that the concurrence of the Lords with the Commons, the filling the throne, and the form of the oath, all voted by the Lords, should be sent down to the lower House. The motion was carried; but the minority, that is, the uncompromising residue of the former majority, entered a protest. It would appear that they did not sign their protest on the journals, but their names have been preserved in the collection of Lord Somers.^c The lords who over to the Prince of Orange, or designedly absented themselves in order to leave him a majority, were influenced by various motives. The Prince's proclaimed determination to return to Holland rather than accept a regency or titular kingship had its effect.^d Almost all had cause to fear the return of the King. A tyrant jealous of his power, however he dissembled for a day, would not forgive the rejection of his letters unopened, and the unanimous votes vesting the administration in the Prince of Orange. The great majority of each House had compromised their fortunes and lives. Others shrank from the contemplation of a civil war.^e Some console themselves with the hope that the Princess would survive the Prince.^f There were some also who changed sides from motives more selfish and mercenary.^g Among them was the court-serving Bishop of Durham. He made his peace by voting for the new settlement, at a moment

^a Burnet, vol. iii. 398.

^b Lord Montague's Letter to King William. Dal. App.

^c Vol. xi.

^d Burnet, vol. iii. 406, note of Lord Dartmouth.

^e Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.

^f Burnet, vol. iii. 396.

^g Ibid. 393, note.

when he was negotiating the resignation of his bishopric in favour of Burnet for a life-annuity to support him in exile.^a

The votes of the Lords were, on the 7th, sent down to the Commons. The latter did not immediately proceed to consider them. So eager and precipitate was the house of Peers in its new zeal, that it voted the throne to the Prince and Princess of Orange, without defining their respective shares in the sovereignty, or settling the succession, or proposing any security for the rights and liberties of the nation. The Commons began with reviving their committee, to prepare securities for the public rights and liberties. This was opposed by some Whigs,—especially the Whig lawyers,^b—from avidity to reach the emoluments of court favour and preferment under the King elect.^c They urged the consumption of three weeks already in debate; the impossibility of drawing up a declaration upon matters so important and delicate at the moment; the prudence of first filling the throne and then enacting securities.^d The Tories were foremost in exposing these flimsy pretences, and urging that the first object in the order of time, of importance, and of public duty, was to guard the public liberties, whoever should be king.^e

It is charged upon the Pope that he murmured against the limitation of his power, and employed confidential agents to the leading lords and commoners, promising, that if they insisted on restrictions of the prerogative, he would leave them to their fate and to King James's mercy. This rests only upon the authority of declared partisans of the King.^f There are some scanty records of the debate on this subject, when the committee was appointed on the 29th of January, but none of the more interesting discussion on the 7th of February. The report brought up by Sir George Treby, and divided into two branches,—the one declaratory of ancient rights, the other introducing new securities,^g—was agreed to. It was further voted, that the crown should not descend to any person who was or had been a Papist. The vote of the peers for filling the throne was next taken into consideration; and, after a conflict of opinions, was disposed of by an adjournment to the next day.

^a Burnet, vol. iii. 399, note of Lord Dartmouth.

^b See Parl. Hist. Jan. 9, 1688-9.

^c Burnet, vol. iii. 398.

^d Montgomery's "Great Britain's Just Complaint," &c.

^e Sheffield Duke of Buckingham.

^f Parl. Hist.

^g Ralph, vol. ii. p. 52.

On the 8th the subject was resumed. During the intervening adjournment, from the 7th to the 8th, a great change came over the counsels of the Commons. They voted the omission of that part of the declaration which proposed the enactment of new securities, and retained only the part declaratory of ancient rights. Whether this was the result of menace and impatience on the part of the Prince, or of influence and intrigue employed with the Commons, seems a matter which it would be vain to examine. The sovereignty and succession were next disposed of. The vote of the Lords was adopted, with this addition, that all acts of government should be done in the joint names of the Prince and Princess; but that the exercise of the regal power and prerogative should be vested solely in him; that he should be king for his life, but with precedence to the issue of the Princess Anne over his issue by another marriage;—in short, the settlement was arranged according to the demands already stated to have been made by the Prince.

The form of the oath of allegiance to the intended king and queen was the subject of much discussion. It was reduced to the ancient simplicity of bearing “true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary,” omitting the words “rightful and lawful sovereigns.” The oath was worded, and very wisely, in this simple and comprehensive form, to leave an opening for real, or an excuse for capitulating, scruples of conscience. It gave rise to the distinction of a king *de facto* and a king *de jure*, which troubled the succeeding reign; and if Bishop Burnet may be believed, it introduced gross equivocation in taking the oath among the clergy, to the great scandal, he says, of the church, and increase of the growing atheism of the age. The lawyers recommended the omission of the words “rightful” and “lawful,” on the ground of law, that the people were to submit to the King in possession, without examining into his title.^a Such was the revolting principle by which Pollexfen and Maynard would legalise the Revolution. The statute of Henry VII. was perpetually in the mouths of these Whig lawyers; and the Prince of Orange, had he listened to them, would have directly usurped the crown,^b in violation, not of the forfeited rights of James, but of the original and inherent rights of the people. Whilst the lawyers thus attempted to legalise, a bishop took

^a Burnet, vol. iii. 402.

^b Id. Parl. Hist.

upon him to consecrate, by a principle still more revolting, the title of the Prince. Lloyd of St. Asaph maintained that all the rights of King James were transferred to the Prince by conquest, which was a right divine, for the war of the Prince upon the King was an appeal to God, and his success the decision of Heaven. As the sages of the law cited the statute of Henry VII., so the divine and his followers quoted those passages of Scripture in which God is named as disposing of kingdoms, by pulling down one and setting up another. The former would legalise successful usurpation, and the latter would sanctify superior force rather than admit that true principle, the supremacy of the people in the last resort, which is so well laid down in the following terms, by Speaker Onslow:—"The Prince of Orange came over by invitation from the body of the nation, expressed or implied; had no other right to do it; and whatever was done against King James, and for the Prince and Princess of Orange, was, in fact (and could have had no other foundation of justice), done in virtue only of the rights of the people. No act of a king of this country, be the act what it will, can transfer, or be the cause of transferring, the crown to any other person; no, not even to the heir apparent, without the consent of the people, properly given. The interest of government is theirs. Sovereigns are the trustees of it, and can *forfeit* only to those who have intrusted them; nor can conquest of itself give any right to government: there must be a subsequent acquiescence or composition on the part of the people for it, and that implies compact. If this be so with regard to the conquest of a whole nation, it is more strongly that when the conquest is over the king only of a country, and the war not against the kingdom,"* Lloyd published his doctrine in a book, which he permitted himself to style, "God's Way of disposing of Kingdoms," and did not live to reap, at least to enjoy, the fruit of his public labours and secret intrigues. He died soon after the Revolution, upon his translation from St. Asaph to Worcester.

The Lords modified by counter-amendments the amendments sent up by the Commons. The 9th, 10th, and 11th were passed in conferences and debates, of which no traces are left; and the vote for the final settlement "passed very hardly," says Burnet, on the 12th of February.

* Note in Burnet, vol. iii. p. 405

The Revolution was now accomplished in England. Nothing remained but ceremonials and pageantries. An extract from the Declaration of Rights, as it ultimately came out of the three days' debates and conferences, is necessary here. It will best convey an idea of the settlement made, and enable the reader to judge at a glance whether the authors of the Revolution achieved all they might and ought in their position to have achieved ;—whether the Commons of England did their duty to their constituents, their country, posterity, and universal freedom. The Declaration, after reciting in detail the misgovernment of “ the late King, James II.,” sets forth, “ that the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal : that the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal : that the commission for erecting the late court of Commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of the like nature, are illegal and pernicious ; that levying of money for or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in any other manner, than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal : that it is the right of the subject to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal : that the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law : that the subjects, which are Protestants, may have arms for their defence suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law : that elections of members of Parliament ought to be free : that the freedom of speech and debates, or proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament ; that excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted : that jurors ought to be duly empanelled and returned ; and jurors, which pass upon men in trials of high treason, ought to be freeholders : that all grants and promises of fines, and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction, are illegal and void : and that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently ; and they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties ; and no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings, to

the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises, ought in anywise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example. To which demand of their rights they are particularly encouraged, by the declaration of his Highness the Prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein. Having, therefore, an entire confidence that his said Highness the Prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties; the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, that William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be and be declared King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said Prince and Princess during their lives and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in and executed by the said Prince of Orange, in the names of the said Prince and Princess, during their joint lives; and after their deceases the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said Princess; and for default of such issue, to the Princess Anne of Denmark and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange. And the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, do pray the said Prince and Princess of Orange to accept the same accordingly; and that the oaths hereafter mentioned be taken by all persons of whom the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be required by law instead of them; and that the said oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated."

The Princess of Orange arrived from Holland on the night of the 12th, when the settlement was concluded. The freezing of the Dutch ports, in the first instance, and contrary winds, when the ice gave way, were stated as the causes of her not having sooner arrived. The Jacobites ascribed it to the Prince, who feared that her presence might impede his designs upon the crown. But she appears to have been so submissive a wife, that her presence would rather have been useful to him. Perhaps he feared the influence which the bishops might exercise over a woman who dethroned her father out of zeal for the Church. Her gaiety, on

arriving at Whitehall, gave scandal. The excuse made for her is, that the Prince had sent her orders to put on cheerful looks, lest it should be suspected that she did not approve the Revolution; and that she overacted the part thus assigned to her by her husband.^a But this will not account for the conduct imputed to her by the Duchess of Marlborough, writing as an eye-witness. "I was," says she; "one of those who had the honour to wait on her to her own apartment. She ran about, looking into every closet and convenience, and turning up the quilts upon the bed, as people do when they come to an inn; and with no other sort of concern in her appearance, but such as they express;—a behaviour which, though at the time I was caressed by her, I thought very strange; for whatever necessity there was of deposing King James, he was still her father, who had been so lately driven from that chamber and that bed."^b The Duchess may have been harsh and hostile; but there appears no ground for questioning her account of the behaviour of the Princess, or the cause to which she ascribes it, "that Queen Mary wanted bowels." Evelyn says of her, "She came into Whitehall laughing and jolly as to a wedding, so as to seem quite transported."^c

On the morning of the 13th of February, the two Houses, preceded by their respective speakers, Lord Halifax and Mr. Powle; came to Whitehall, and stationed themselves, the Lords on the right, the Commons on the left, of the Banqueting-house, to wait the coming of the Prince and Princess of Orange. Their Highnesses, having entered by an opposite door, stood upon the step under a canopy of state, and the Lords and Commons were introduced. Lord Halifax stated, that a declaration had been agreed upon by both Houses, and requested that it might be read. The Declaration of Rights was accordingly read by the clerk of the Lords. Lord Halifax, in the name of the two Houses, then made a solemn tender of the crown to the Prince and Princess of Orange. There are two versions of the answer of the Prince, and material variances between them. An entry in the Commons' Journal of the 13th states, "that he thanked them heartily for their great kindness to him, and confidence in him; that he accepted of the crown on the conditions mentioned in the Declaration; and that, as he came thither for the defence of the Protestant religion, so he would ever

^a Burnet, iii. 406.

^b Diary, vol. ii. p. 6.

^c Conduct of Duchess of Marlborough, pp. 26, 27.

study to preserve it, together with the laws of the land and the liberties and properties of the people." On the 14th the Speaker acquainted the Commons that he should procure a copy of the Prince's speech by the next day; and accordingly the following appears on the Journals, under the date of the 15th, as the answer of the Prince:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—This is certainly the greatest proof of the trust you have in us that can be given; which is the thing which makes us value it the more; and we thankfully accept what you have offered to us; and as I had no other intention in coming hither than to preserve your religion, laws, and liberties, so you may be sure that I shall endeavour to support them, and shall be willing to concur in any thing that shall be for the good of the kingdom, and to do all that is in my power to advance the welfare and glory of the nation."

In this answer it will be observed, there is no express acceptance of the Declaration of Rights, as the condition upon which the crown was tendered. The new King and Queen were proclaimed on the same day, with the usual ceremonies, and demonstrations of joy.

The example of England was followed by the states of Scotland in a convention. The reduction or suppression of the Scotch Jacobites, and the conquest of Ireland, belong to the reign of King William, not to the History of the Revolution.

APPENDIX.

N° I.

ESTRATTI DELLE LETTERE DE M^OSIGNOR D' ADDA, NUNZIO
APOSTOLICO, ETC.

4 Dec. O. S. 14 Dec. 1635.

MARTEDÌ mattina 11 del corente essendo a Corte mi fece dire S. M. per il fratello del Sig^r Cardinale Howard, che mi avrebbe atteso alle 4 Eore del doppio pranzo per parlarmi. Onde mi porta all' Eora destinata per ricevere li comandati della M. S., la quale si compiacque dirmi, con espressioni di molta benignità, che la sua intentione era, che mi trattenessi ancora presso della M. S., e voleva che fossi testimonio del zelo, col quale avrebbe procurato di mostrarsi il più obbediente figlio à Sua S^a, con aggiungere di più che mandando Eora il suo Ambasciatore à Roma, potevo assumere pubblicamente il Carattero di Ministro di Sua S^a tenendo la capella in Casa, con tutte le a're dimostrazioni di Publico Rappresentarte, senza necessità di pigliare alcuna Publica Audienza.

Entro poi in altri discorsi, come della Persecutione di alcun anni sono, nella quale, diceva che erano morte settanta due Persone, dal che però il Signore ne aveva fatto risultare un grand Bene col disinganno di molti Protestanti, li quali erano persuasi, che li Cattolici avessero dispense di poter mentire a suo Piacere con riserve mentali con le quale potessero ingannare il Mondo, ed altre massime di simil natura; onde dall' aver visto soffrire li detti Cattolici coraggiosamente la morte, la quale con facilità, supposte le dette dispense, avrebbero potuto evitare, mentre non erano condannati, che per non voler giurare il resto, sono venuti in cognitione della loro vergognosa credulità; anzi S. M. aggonse, che essa medesima molti anni sono essendo quasi persuasa della stesso aveva mandato à Roma per impetrare la Dispensa di accompagnare il fu Rè suo fratello alla Capella, ed ivi pigliare la Cena all' uso de' Protestanti, e che non gli fu concessa.

Mi disse sopra l' affare d' Orlanda, che questo P^{ro}vinciale de' Giesuiti gli aveva rappresentato qualche pericolo contro de' Missionarii che sono in queste Provincie, eccitato dalla fuga degl' Ugonotti di Francia; onde sua M^a ne averebbe scritto al Principe d'Oranges, aggiungendo però, che essendo il Principe un gran Calvinista non attendeva gran cosa di lui. Al che risposi, che dovevamo sperare sempre ogni buon successo dagl' ufficii di S. M., ma particolarmente in un caso, dove non si trattava che della difesa di persone innocenti. E sua M^a soggiunse, che non avrebbe lasciato di passare l' ufficio col maggior calore.

Parlò anco sopra la Proroga del Parlamento, dal quale diceva, se avesse voluto in qualche cosa rilasciare delle sue determinazioni, poteva attendere ogni più grand assistenza, ma conoscendo che per l' essere Rè, non si dovesse meno buon Cristianismo, perciò non aveva voluto altra mira che un intiera rassegnatione alla suprema volontà del Sig^r, dal quale aveva da dipendere tutto il suo essere, con sentimenti di zelo, e pietà così perfetta, che si eccita l'ammirazione insieme con la tenerezza; nel vedere un sì gran Rè portato con tanto ardore all' augmento della Religione, ed allo studio della sda, e vera Pietà, che non à bisogno di stimoli, anzi previene tutte le insinuationi più esatte.

Entrò poi S. M. benignamente à parlarmi della sua conversione, dicendo che mai Persona di quanti Religiosi avevano seco trattato gli parlò sopra di questo particolare, una sol volta Giovanetto essendo à Parigi, ed entrato in un convento di Monache con la fu Regina sua Madre, una via del Marchesal di Bellefonte gli aveva dette qualche Parola, esortandolo ad abbracciare la Religione Cattolica, à che egli rispondeva, che era troppo giovane per discernere sopra tal

materia, ma che la sua conversione ebbe principio dalla lettura della *Historia della Pretesa Riforma di Religione* e da un altro libro fatto da un ministro Protestante contro de' Cattolici.

Mi disse poi che il fù Rè suo fratello, se fosse vissuto sol poco tempo, era risoluto di dichiararsi Cattolico, e che aveva prese misure per farlo senza molta dilazione.

Mi parlò anco distintamente sopra la setta Anglicana facendo vedere essere la meno difforme dell' altre dalla Cattolica, contro la quale però tutte per l' interesse si uniscono ad impedirne la propagatione.

Io partii da S. M. sempre più consolato, ed ammirato di vedere in essa radicati sentimenti di una così solida, e vera virtù.

Ferdinando d' ADDA.

20 Dec. O. S. 31 Dec. 1686.

Non ci è dubbio, che il Rè à tutto il zelo maggiore, e degno di ammirazione, accompagnato da una pari fermezza, e risoluzione di fare tutti quei passi, che potranno contribuire all' aumento della Religione, e rimetterla quanto sarà possibile nell' antico splendore, ma osservandosi, che le circostanze, nelle qual' ora si troviamo per la grand' unione de' Malintentionati, ed adombramento de' Protestanti, sono molto controposte alle s^{te} disposizioni di S. M., è necessario, che queste vengono regolate con una cautela più che singolare, acciò che non si corra pericolo per la malitia altrui di vederle defraudate almeno di tutto il frutto, che si potrebbe sperare coll' aiuto del Signore dalle medesime.

Ferdinando d' ADDA.

31 Gen. 1689.

Mi disse poi la M. S., che era giunto un paggio di Milord d' Aram con lettere d' Ingh^a, le quali portavano principalmente che si apprendesse dal P^o d' Oranges l' affare d' Irlanda più difficile di quello che si era immaginato, destinando à quell' intrapresa un maggiore numero di truppe di prima con la disposizione di farle ancora commendare dallo stesso Marechal di Schomberg: il che faceva credere alla M. S., che Milord Tirconel si fosse messo in un buon stato di difesa, benché non avesse nuove à drittura da quella parte; diceva esservi già più partiti in Londra, che li Pseudo vescovi con gli Anglicani nominando alquanti Milordi principali, come il duca.

27 Settembre, 1686.

La M^a del Rè ha pensato di dare un successore con diversità di carattere al Sig^r Conte di Castelmaine, ed ha proposto nel suo consiglio di gabinetto la persona del Conte Dalbi, Irlandese e fratello del Marchese d'Albeville, che v'è inviato Regio presso li stati Generali d'Orlanda. Questo soggetto si è trattenuto lungo tempo in Roma, credo con particolar attaccamento alla casa del Sig^r Principe Pamphilio, ch'è stato uno de' motivi principali per farlo considerare da S. M^a, come il più à proposito per ben riuscire in questo impiego, ed è stato nuovamente per l'istanze e la protezione del Rè, liberato dalla Bastiglia di Parigi ritenutovi qualche anno senza sapersene alcuna apparente ragione. Nel consiglio ha havute molte opposizioni la di lui elezione, non già per riguardi personali, ma rappresentando alcuni à S. M^a, che meritava riflesso l'impiegare due fratelli in due cariche ciascuna nel suo genere della maggior importanza, ma il Rè è persuaso, ch' il detto soggetto, per la pratica ch' ha acquistata in un lungo soggiorno della corte di Roma, e per l'opinione che tiene della sua probità, sia presentemente il più capace, e più atto per appoggiarli una simil carica, onde pare, che la sua M^a non sia per considerare, di tal peso le rimostianze, che le sono state fatte sopra di questo per non dovere passare avanti nella risoluzione. L' altra sera S. M^a essendovi presente l'ambasciatore di Spagna mosse discorso sopra il Conte Dalbi, dicendo ch' era stato molto tempo à Roma, e ch' aveva gran cognizione di questa corte, parlando poi della sua età ch' è molto avanzata senza spiegarci di più. Il medesimo Conte m' ha parlato in questi giorni del negozio in termini di crederlo quasi per fatto, e che Milord Sunderland gl' avesse detto di non partire da Vindsor, onde fra poco dovrà sapere quello, che si risolverà sopra la di lui persona. La richiamata del Sig^r Conte di Castelmaine s' attribuisce à due cagioni; la prima, che si stima la più

principale, è per la spesa grande, ch' importa il sostenere l'Ambasciata, e pare che S. M.^a inclini ad ogni maggior risparmio, per non avere a dipendere dal parlamento, per la necessità de sussidj, havendo con limitazione l' entrate regie, ed impegnate in gran parte a mantenere le truppe, che sono necessarie per la propria sicurezza, e tranquillità del Regno: l'altra, si crede a riguardo della persona del Sig.^r Ambasciatore, la di cui condotta non è in alcun modo piaciuta, ed universalmente quà ciascheduno se ne duole. Delle determinazioni, che si piglieranno, non lasciara di darne riverentemente conto a V. E.

Le risposte del Principe d' Orange sopra le premure del Rè per dare un Generale Cattolico alle truppe Inglesi, che si trovano al servizio d' Olanda, sono state pertinaci nella negativa, onde S. M.^a ha havuto un sensibile dispiacere di questo modo di procedere del detto principe, e se n' è spiegata con qualche ministro, con gran risentimento, e tanto più degna di riflessione si fa questa sua ostinata resistenza, quanto che molti credono, che venga da un' altro principio, oltre quello dell' odio alla Religione Cattolica, di volersi rendere grato à questi heretici con tali passi, e facilitare le sue pretese, con mostrare aversione al zelo di S. M.^a, la quale sapra prendere le misure convenienti per prevenire quelle de suoi nemici e dello stato, massime che si parla come d' un partito fatto delli aderenti al Principe d' Oranges.

11 Ottobre, 1686.

Le giorni passati havendomi tenuto discorso Milord Sunderland sopra gl' affari correnti d' Inghilterra, ed in ordine alla convocazione del Parlamento, mi disse, che non era ancor risoluto, se si doveva tenere al tempo prefisso Novembre prossimo, anzi più tosto ricavai una grande apparenza, che si sarebbe prolungato il termine, dovendo pero questo dipendere dallo stato in cui si trovaranno le cose, per non avventurare, se sarà possibile, di convocarlo senza profitto, e da questo proposito mi faceva un progetto del modo, con cui credeva che si potesse condurre quest' importante opera à buon fine. Suppose dunque che la M.^a del Rè possa ripromettersi molto dalla Camera Bassa, e che sia per entrare ne giusti sentimenti della M.^a S. contando sino à ducento voti della medesima, come necessariamente dipendenti da S. M.^a, col cavare anco argomento dall' ultima separazione, ch' è stata per la sua parte in termini tali, che non ha fatta apparire alcuna diminuzione del suo intiero rispetto, ed ossequio verso la M.^a S., onde concludeva, che tutto il male poteva derivare dalla Camera Alta, che però era necessario di prevenire li mezzi atti à porla in un stato, che poco s' avesse à temerne, e proponeva che senza far mormorare alcuno, il Rè aveva nel suo potere un remedio pronto, ed opportuno, il quale sarebbe ò di fare molti Milordi nuovi di Persone d'una sperimentata fedeltà, ch' entrando nel Parlamento si contraporrebbero al numero di quelli, che volessero rimanere pertinaci nella loro opposizione, e malizia; ò pure chiamare nel Parlamento li figli primogeniti de Milordi, potendolo fare il Rè di speciale sua autorità, overo aggregare altri à suo piacere; havendomi à questo proposito detto, che quando per tre volte faccia S. M.^a una simile chiamata d' alcuno, s' intende fatto pari del Regno, e ne seguirebbe il medesimo buon effetto di rinversare tutte le cabale, e misure, che possono aver presso li nemici del ben publico, coll' argumentare il numero di quelli, che sono attaccati al servizio di S. M.^a, la quale me disse il detto ministro, ch' era ben disposta ad intrare in questo progetto, però non essendo negozio di concludere in pochi giorni, n' è motivo di credere, che si differirà la sessione del Parlamento per qualche mese.

15 Novembre, 1686.

Milord Triconel ch' è molto zelante per l' avanzamento della nostra S.^a Religione et per il servizio di S. M.^a, massime nel regno d' Irlanda, delli di cui affari ha una principale direzione, m' ha significato ch' alcuni avevano persuaso la M.^a S. di confermare alli protestanti di quel Regno il possesso de beni usurpati da essi nelle ultime rebellioni di Cromwell sopra li Cattolici, ed autorizzato loro dal Parlamento supponendo, che tale approvazione non fosse repugnante alla giustizia, anzi à buon fine di non esasperare li Heretici, e non dare loro motivo di qualche movimento pregiudiziale alla Religione, ed allo stato, quando si trattasse di levare ad essi li detti beni posseduti per atto di Parlamento, onde essendoci fatta la proposizione di questo nel consiglio particolare destinato per gl' affari d' Irlanda, dove entrano Milord Sunderland, ed alcuni Sig.^r Cattolici alla presenza di S. M.^a, la maggior

parte, che votò prima di Milord Triconel, fu senza difficoltà uniforme nel sentimento della detta conferma, ma venuto il turno al detto Milord, questo non solo non venne nel parere degli altri, anzi esclamò, che volevano insinuare la maggiore ingiustizia del mondo a S. M.^a, e disse con vehemenza, essendo un huomo ardente, e libero, ch' era appunto un voler rovinare la religione col perdere per sempre quei poveri Cattolici, che non avevano altra speranza di poter risorgere, che nel governo d' un Rè così pio, e giusto, come era quello di S. M.^a e nel modo proposto, si toglieva loro ogni strada di mai più riaversi delle oppressioni fategli per aver sostenuto la religione, ed il partito del suo Principe. Detto questo la M.^a S. ch' ha l' animo colmo di pietà, e di rettitudine, non volle passare avanti nella deliberazione, e finito il consiglio disse a Milord Triconel, che dovesse essere dalla M.^a S. il giorno seguente, che voleva sentire in particolare tutte le ragioni e tutto lo stato di quelle cose con distinzione; ed egli supplicò la M.^a S. che volesse ordinare a Milord Sunderland d' essere presente, accio che se questo ministro aveva motivi in contrario si dovesse rilevare alla M.^a S., la quale per oasi dire in contraddittorio giudizio haberebbe potuto meglio giudicare del fatto; il che S. M.^a havendogli accordato, fu con Milord Sunderland all' hora appontata all' audienza della M.^a S., alla quale havendo rappresentato diffusamente tutte le ragioni ch' assistano alli poveri Cattolici d' Irlanda, con tutti gl' altri riflessi del bene publico che repugnavano allo stabilimento delli Heretici, S. M.^a si voltò a Milord Sunderland per sentire quello, che dicesse, il quale rispose in un certo modo mostrando di non avere havute tutte l' istruzioni necessarie, e ch' in fatti non si poteva rispondere alle ragioni addotte da Milord Triconel, con che terminò la conferenza. La regina poi, ch' aveva qualche premura, che continuasse nel governo di quel Regno Milord Clarendon, persuasa da Madama Rochester moglie del Gran Tesoriere d' Inghilterra, e di lui cognata, per la quale la M.^a S. ha molta stima, ed affezione, che farebbe sempre apparire il maggior zelo nel servizio di S. M.^a col fare tutto à favore de Cattolici, che sin' hora però non ha mai fatto anzi tutto il contrario, disse a Milord Triconel, che fosse à parlare con la M.^a S. essendo il detto Milord molto portato à de il presente V. Rè si richiami, ed egli supplicò la Regina, ch' avesse la bontà, che le parlasse alla presenza del Rè, come è seguito, nella qual conferenza m' ha detto, che la Regina è rimasta in tal modo appagata delle ragioni di quei Cattolici, e della necessità di levare il V. Rè per la buona direzione di quelli affari, che s' è fatta parte con il Rè per trovare modo di ristabilirli ne loro beni usurpati, e che si provveda quel regno d' un ministro, il quale habbia à cuore gli vantaggi della religione, che non si puote sperare da quello, che di presente, vi governa, come era stato premisto sin dal principio della sua elezione, ma il Rè aveva sempre creduto, che paresse sua creatura, e con il stretto attaccamento della parentela doversi far' sempre apparire in tutte le sue azioni un zelo corrispondente per il suo real servizio, con che presto sarà richiamato, e facilmente si manderà l' istesso Milord Triconel per dare sesto al governo per qualche mese, mentre egli dice, che non potrebbe continuare longamente essendogli molto contrario il clima de quel paese massime non godendo presentemente molto perfetta la salute.

6 Dicembre, 1686.

Milord Sunderland havendomi tenuto discorso sopra gl' affari correnti, mi disse, che stimava, ch' il parlamento si terrebbe senza maggior dilazione à febraio prossimo, sperando insieme, che le cose sarebbero disposte in modo d' attenderne un buon successo, al qual effetto S. M.^a era risoluta di far una riforma di soggetti nella casa reale, non solo di quelli, ch' hanno li sentimenti opposti alli disegni della M.^a S., ma di quelli ancora ch' astutamente pretendono di vivere nell' indifferenza, accioche ogn' uno resti persuaso, che non si vuol' permettere ad alcuno il modo di godere il beneficio delle cariche, e d' altre convenienza per doverne abusare in svantaggio publico, e contro il proprio dovere, e senza ch' abbino ad essere intieramente e con impegno nelle stesse misure, che piglia la M.^a S. per il maggior bene de suoi Regni. Questo apparentemente sarà un mezzo proprio di far determinare molti à prendere il buon partito, facendosi palese la volenta risoluta di S. M.^a di non voler ammettere quelli che quà sono chiamati col nome di éremet, che se non fanno positivamente del male, non lasciano di causarlo grandissimo con l' opinione, ch' si forma della gente, ch' essendo tollerata la negligenza nelli ministri, e servitori attuali della M.^a S., ò non si voglia procedere

con risoluzione nell' avanzamento del grand' affare, ò almeno non vi sia, che temere dal contenersi ne limiti dell' indifferenza ed intanto non si pregiudicare con alcun impegno, che potesse far' dispiacere al successore presuntivo, destreggiando dicono con la corrente del tempo, che passerà, ed infatti è verissimo, che li momenti sono preziosi per dovergli impiegare tutti senza perdere alcuno nel progresso della s^a opera. Il ditto Milord mostra un gran vigore, ed è persuaso, che non vi sia, che temere in conto alcuno di torbido interiore, con le forze, che S. M^a hà in piedi sufficienti à tenere indovene tutto il regno, ed havando S. M^a la forma di mantenerle per lungo tempo puol' attendere dal parlamento nuovi sussidj, le quali sarà per conseguire più facilme non trovandosi in necessità, mentre in altro modo s' entrerebbe à voler far patti, come è seguito ne tempi passati à costo della reale prerogativa, dicendo, che la costituzione del paese è, che si come il popolo è portato à contraporsi all' autorità regia, così quando per questa parte si tiene fermo con la stessa facilità, si cede, dall' altra, e le rivoluzioni funeste degl' anni scorsi haver havuta origine dalla debolezza del governo.

7 Febraio, 1687.

Passò poi S. M^a à parlare della missione del Sig^r Disfelt inviato straordinario d' Olanda che s' attende in breve, discendomi, ch' il pretesto della sua venuta è per chiarirsi di tante gelosie, che s' apprendono cola dall' armato navale, che si fa in questo regno, e dalla pretesa intelligenza secreta con la Francia à pregiudizio dell' Stati Generali, ma ch' il vero disegno sia che dall' affare d' Irlanda così ben incaminato con la deputazione di Milord Triconel, e dalla dimissione del Gran Tesoriere dalla sua carica, e dalle altre misure, che prende la M^a S. in proseguimento de suoi disegni, essendosi rotte tutte quelle del Principe d' Oranges, questo voglia procurare in ogni modo di rimettersi nella buona grazia della M^a S. à condizione però, che sia la M^a S. quella, che faccia à modo del Principe, in non al contrario come sarebbe il dovere, e quando questo non possa riuscirle secondo le di lui intenzioni, fomentare un partito nella corte, e nella città, per far nascere de torbidi e seminare dissension per la mala riuscita del Parlamento, aggiungendo S. M^a, ch' il detto principe sia un huomo testardo, ed un Calvinista finissimo, che farà ogni cosa per opporsi alla religione Cattolica; disse però, che restava soddisfatto della persona, che si mandava, essendo soggetto d' esperienza, e di ragione, ed esser' vantaggio di trattare con quelli, ch' hanno capacità ed intendimento, e non ricorrono literalmente alle istruzioni ed ordini de suoi Padroni, senza ch' habbino le dovute informazioni.

Milord Sunderland fu hieri mattina à casa, e volse darmi una piena informazione dello stato, in cui sono presentemente gl' affari, la quale si riduce in sostanza à quello, che m' ha detto la M^a S., ma spiegato più diffusamente, dicendomi, che nella camera alta si poteva far' conto di centoventi voti, li quali si dividessero in trè parti, una per la M^a del Rè, l' altra contraria, e la terza ambigua, sopra di cui si facevano hora le diligenze per guadagnarne il maggior numero, e col modo, che hora si tiene dalla M^a S., stimava assolutamente che vincerebbe il buon partito: diceva, che nella camera bassa si faceva capitale di ducento voti sicuri, e similmente si travagliava ad aumentarli, supponendo però, che guadagnata quella de Sig. non fosse il più difficile di tirare in consenso l' altra de Comuni. Aggiunse il racconto de pregiudizj ch' haveva fatti Milord Tesoriere nel tempo del suo favore, e che hora si levarebbero anco di posto alcuni suoi parziali sostenuti da esso nella corte, che sono contrarij alle intenzioni di S. M^a, mi disse, che si darebbe à Milord Arundel Cattolico il Privato Sigillo, posto di considerazione, hora godato da Milord Clarendon, che ritorna dal governo d' Irlanda. Le indefesse applicazioni della M^a S., che penza notte e giorno all' angumento della vera religione, secondate da quelle de suoi fedeli Ministri, danno luogo à sperare con l' assistenza del Signor Iddio, ogni buon successo, non lasciandosi da parte alcun mezzo à facilitarne la riuscita.

21 Marzo, 1687.

Siccome le applicazioni incessanti di S. M^a sone rivolte à riconoscere il fondo delle intenzioni di tutti quelli, che devono comporre le Camere del Parlamento, cose vā purgando la corte, e l' armata da cattivi humori quanto è possibile; si vede però in questo affare sin dove puol giungere l' ingratitudine, e la maliziosa ostinazione, e ne è un gran esempio il Sig^r Sibert contr' Armiraglio del mare, elevato dalla M^a S. dalla

polvere ad una corica così conspicua, ed honorato di altre due di gran profitto e stima, e protetto sempre de S. M.^a con special modo anco ne tempi passati, nondimeno hà avuto l'audacia di ripugnare alli giustissimi sentimenti di S. M.^a, la quale contava sopra questo soggetto, come fosse errore di dubitare della sua fede, quando era stato eletto membro del Parlamento per ordine particolare della M.^a S., onde giustamente indignata gl'ha levate le dette cariche, una delle quali, che è quella di maestro della privata guardarobba, mi ha detto Milord Sunderland, che S. M.^a l'habbi destinata, anche con gli buoni uffici del detto Milord, à favore di Milord Thomas Houvard nipote del Sig.^r Cardinale. Hà pure S. M.^a levata la chiave di Vice Chambellano al fratello del marchese di Alifax, e sostituito ad esso il Cavagliar Porter buon Cattolico. A Milord Clarandon ancora fratello del deposto Gran Tesoriere, ritornato ultimamente d'Irlanda, S. M.^a gl'ha levato il Privato Sigillo e datolo à Milord Arundel ottimo Cattolico, e Sig.^r di gran credito ed esperienza, il quale conserva la vivacità del suo spirito, e vigore delle forze nell'età di sopra ottanta anni, come se non ne avesse più di quaranta. A Milord Poes Cattolico e Sig.^r molto ricco S. M.^a hà dato il titolo di Marchese, grazia molto stimata per essere il terzo Marchese del regno: onde tutti quei Sig.^{ri}, che anni sono, furono posti nella torre di Londra con disegno di farli morire in odio della Religione Cattolica, si trovano hora esaltati con Cariche, ed honorì particolari con ammirabile provvidenza del Sig.^r, dalla di cui infinita misericordia speraremo l'avanzamento, e perfezione della grande opera. Milord Sunderland mi hà parlato con grand'indignazione del fatto del detto Sibert, esagerando la sua ingratitudine ed infedeltà, e poi m'ha detto, che voleva trovarsi meco uno di questi giorni per darmi conto di tutto lo stato presente dell'affari; in tanto mi diceva in gran confidenza, che non si terrebbe il Parlamento al tempo prefisso senza spiegarne li motivi per non esservi tempo, ma quasi accennò, che si potesse in fine ridurre la cosa à prendere la stessa rivoluzione di Scotia per la libertà di coscienza, nondimeno non havendo detto, che si casserebbe il Parlamento, ma che si proseguisse nel modo cominciato di procurare la pluralità de voti, ed il numero essendo grand ci vuole più tempo di quello, che da principio si supponeva per fare le diligenze esatte, si deve credere, che siamo in camino di sperare di conseguire l'intento, però esservi insieme più difficoltà, ed opposizioni di quello, che forse credeva la M.^a S. e li suoi ministri, doppo d'haver penetrato più al fondo le intenzioni de Parlamentarj: mi disse qualche cosa ancora della missione del Sig.^r Dikfelt, che non era con intenzione di produrre buoni effetti, li quali si non potevano attendere dalla condotta del Principe d'Oranges, e che il detto Sig.^r Dikfelt haveva lettere per lui Milord delli Stati Generali, e del Principe d'Oranges, ma sin' hora non havevaglile presentate, ne esser si visto seco il detto ministro, che in complimento.

4 Aprile, 1687.

Viene appreso uniformemente, che l'intenzione di S. M.^a sia stata di fare in modo, che le forze de settarj si dividano, ed il consenso, che sin' hora pare, ch'abbino dimostrato unitamente nell'opposi alli giusti disegni della M.^a S., venga à sciogliersi con questa apparente gratificazione per li Nonconformiste, à cui seguirà la diminuzione, ed abbattimento dell'partito Anglicano, il quale non ostante l'attacco che si vanta d'havere sempre mantenuto alla Monarchia, ed alla casa reale, in questa occasione s'è mostrato sommamente renitente e contumace, essendo composto il Parlamento per la maggior parte di membri che professano la Religione Anglicana, e scelti dal cominciamento con gran studio sopra la credenza, che dovessero essere più conformi alli principj della giustizia, e dell'equità, li quali segue la M.^a S. nel volere che siano rimossi gl'ostacoli, che impediscono alli suoi soggetti Cattolici di poter rendere alcun servizio alla M.^a S., ed allo stato; anzi di poter vivere nella Patria, in cui il Sig.^r Iddio gl'ha fatti nascere, senza altra opposizione, che quella di professare la vera Religione; sopra tali principj di credere si cerchi la divisione di settarj per ottenere più facilmente il vantaggio delli Cattolici, si fanno dall'altra parte tutti li sforzi per persuadere la constanza, e l'unione trà di essi, la quale nondimeno pare incompatible per le massime loro tante opposte, come sono quelle de Presbiteriani, il di cui numero è il più forte, e della gente più ricca. Bisogna che il colpo sia ben sensibile, mentre si conosce negl'andamenti loro la perturbazione e perplessità haverne gran parte: si deve sperare in fine, che l'heroico zelo di S. M.^a e la sua gran fermezza saranno secondati dalla divina misericordia con felici successi, non ostante le grandi opposizioni, che s'incontrano. . .

18 Aple, 1687.

buoni effetti, che spera, che sia per produrre in proseguimento di tempo, dando coraggio alli bene inclinati à dichiararsi Cattolici col garantirli da ogn' timore di pene, che potesse loro essere di ostacolo alla detta dichiarazione, e mortificandosi quelli, che hanno più resistito presentemente alli santi disegni di S. M^a, che sono gl' Anglicani; ridendosi il detto Milord della stravaganza di questa setta, che ha preteso di fare un composto moderato di tutte le altre; ed intanto non lasciar di fare tutte le diligenze per conseguire nel Parlamento futuro la confermazione della detta libertà, con l'abolizione del Testo, in ordine al quale è uscita una lettera forte di un settario contro la detta pertinacia dell' Anglicani, nella quale trà molti altri fa loro un argomento con dimandare dove sia la fedeltà, che hanno sempre vantata di conservare in tutti li tempi alli Rè passati ed alla Monarchia, se di presente sostengono à tutto potere il Testo, che è stato fatto direttamente contro la M^a S., e per promuovere la sua esclusione del Regno. Si dovranno vedere quanto prima li diversi movimenti che è per causare nell' animo del Popolo secondo le contrarie inclinazioni una dichiarazione, che ne leva la maggior parte dalla soggezione de ministri Anglicani, che facevano mercanzia sopra le leggi fatte contro li Nonconformisti.

13 Giugno, 1687.

Il Signor Dikfelt, Ministro d' Olanda, e finalmente partito di ritorno verso li Stati Generali, e prima di partire fu li giorni passati a Vindsor per far riverenza alla M^a S., la quale non lascio per ultimo di spiegargli con la solita sua fermezza e risoluzione chiaramente li suoi reali sensi, principalmente in ordine à levare li giuramenti ed il testo, essendo questo il capo della resistenza de gl' heretici, che chiamano argine della loro Religione; dicendogli, che assolutamente voleva togliere di mezzo questo ostacolo, ed haverebbe der sciogliere nello stesso modo anco il secondo, ed il terzo, se bisogno ve ne fosse, conchiudendo che non vi erano espedienti à proporre sopra di questo ponto, e che il testo si levarebbe. Da questo modo risoluto di parlare del Rè haverà ben dovuto comprendere il detto Ministro, che S. M^a sarà per riguardare molto da vicino gl' andamenti del Principe d' Oranges, quando pretendesse d' opporsi alli giusti disegni della M^a S. col fomentare le parzialità e le diffidenze in questo regno. In ordine à che mi vien referto, che il detto Sig^r Dikfelt si sia ultimamente espresso con li amici suoi, che partiva molto contento, e soddisfatto d' Inghilterra per haver ritrovato in buona parte di questi Sig^r un attaccamento, ed una passione straordinaria per gl' interessi del Principe, quale si poteva mai desirare, come per essere sicuro di un gran partito: nello stesso tempo però sento, che essendo pervenute tali dichiarazioni alla notizia dell' direttori principali della parte contraria alle s^{te} Regie intenzioni, habbino prodotto un' effetto opposto à quello del detto Ministro; perche sono state ricevute da essi con indignazione, come riflessive sopra la loro fedeltà; e se ne sono dolsuti, dicendo non essere in Inghilterra altro partito, che quello del Rè, e se ben' vi erano delle differenze interiori, essere queste considerazioni particolari, e che riguardano la loro Religione, ma non perciò doversi intendere di fare un partito del Principe, il quale in ogni caso sarebbe stato trattato come il Duca di Monmouth, se havesse alcun pensiero rivolto alle novità.

20 Giugno, 1687.

Disse poi che voleva informarmi dello stato presente delle cose e delle disposizioni, che si andavano preparando per l' avanzamento dell' s^{ti} disegni di S. M^a, con le risoluzioni già prese à questo fine. Cominciò dalla condotta tenuta dal Sig^r Dikfelt nel tempo della sua permanenza in questa Corte, discorrendo sopra la durezza del principe d' Oranges, in nome del quale agiva questo ministro, opponendosi alle giuste intenzioni di S. M^a, massime nelli due ponti principali delle leggi penali, e del testo, col principio di non si poter fidare dell' Cattolici, li quali aumentandosi, e pigliando forza, nel caso della morte del Rè si opporrebbero alla successione del Principe, e abbracciando il partito dell' Nonconformisti, li quali sono inclinati ad una Repubblica, d' entrando ne gl' interessi della Francia total^{te} opposti à quello del Principe, ed in qualunque modo esser evidente il pericolo della Monarchia, ed in conseguenza sicuro il proprio pregiudizio; disse della pena, che con estrema bontà si era presa più volte la M^a S. di voler vendere capace il Sig^r Dikfelt con le ragioni più palpabili dell' inganno ed errore, in cui era, à ponto

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per punto, sopra la falsità di tali principj, ma non haver operato niente, in maniera, ch' era poi stata obbligata la S. M.^a à dirgli chiaramente li suoi sensi nell' ultima audienza, come mi sono dato l' onore di riferire à V. E. Questo modo di condursi del Sig^r Dikfelt diede motivo à S. M.^a di far scrivere una lettera al suo Ministro all' Haya con una piena informazione delle misure che prendeva la M.^a S., fondate in una somma giustitia, con evidenza che non fossero per pregiudicare in alcun' conto à gl' interessi del Principe, ma più tosto, che dovessero essere ricordate da lui per un commune vantaggio. Milord mi disse, che voleva leggermi questa lettera, con la risposta che era à punto venuta dall' Haya, con che fu à prenderle nel gabinetto; e me le liasse, traducendo le dall' Inglese idioma nel Francese. La prima conteneva li sensi soprad' spiegati così bene, che pareva la sola lettera monstrata al Principe bastante à convincere il di lui animo senz' altra ripresentatione; la risposta diceva in sostanza, che il Ministro di S. M.^a essendo andato all' audienza del Principe haveva stimato di dover leggere la stessa lettera à sua H.^a, apporgendo tutte le ragioni, che haveva sapute per desinganarla, e fargliela comprendere, come si persuadeva che fosse per riuscir facile nell' animo di chi tiene alcun' affetto, ed inclination per la giustizia, ma che in fine il Principe si era dichiarato risolutamente à non poter mai consentire, che si levassero li leggi penali ed il Testo. Essendo poi passato all' audienza della Principessa fece seco le medesime parti, e l' H.^a si esprese, che ve' non intendeva molto queste cose, e che le doleva infinit' di far alcun' passo, che non fosse intier^a del gusto del Re, suo padre, ma sperava, che in un affare di conoscenza, non prenderebbe la M.^a S. in mala parte, che ne venisse gl' impulsi senza spiegarsi maggiormente. Ponderate dunque da S. M.^a queste dichiarazioni, e conoscendo che la principal confidenza del Principe sia riposta nel partito degl' Anglicani sopra il suo creder fisso che dal sostenerlo sia per dipendere la sicurezza della sua successione, e che in alcun' altro modo si esponga al pericole di perderla per li motivi adotti che li Nonconformisti siano per una Republica, considerando insieme S. M.^a che il presente Parlamento sia composto nelle maggiore parte di settarij Anglicani, e venuta in risoluzione per rompere tutte le dette misure di casarle e convocarne un altro; ma primo di ciò vuol di nuovo S. M.^a far un esperienza esplorando li sentimenti di alcuni capi Parlamentarij che sono in cariche, alli quali non hà ancor parlato, per esiggere da loro una positiva dichiarazione di quello che sentono in ordine alli ponti sopra detti, più tosto per levarsi di mezzo questi ostacoli, privando li delli ufficij, e cariche, che con speranza di guadagnarli, e fatto questo che in breve si porra in esecut^a, quanto si conosca disperato il caso, come si suppone senza dubbio si scioglierà il Parlamento, e si procederà all' electione di un altro con la preventione di mutare nelle provincie molti Magistrati, che sono hora della med.^a liga, ed altri uffiali, da quali dipende in buona parte l' electione de Membri, che devono comporre la Camera bassa; e quanto alla Camera Alta, che è sempre la medes.^a si pensa di usare del potere che stà in mano di S. M.^a, creando nuovi Pari del Regno, quanto si veda, che gl' altri modi di redurla al buono senso rieschino senza frutto, che nondimeno si tentarano tutti prima di giungere à questo passo, il quale non lascia di sapere le sue difficoltà. Onde da tutte queste dispositioni, e dall' applauso universale, con cui è stata ricevuta dalla maggior parte la libertà di coscienza, si spera che S. M.^a finalmente conseguira l' intento ed haverà un Parlamento conforme all' e.^a suoi disegni; e se fosse lícito di far pronostici in queste materie tanto contingenti, pare indubitato, che con l' autorità in cui si trova present.^a la M.^a S. sostenuta da una buona armata, con l' affettione di popoli conciliate insign.^a dalla libertà conceduta, e con una voluta efficace di proseguire l' impresa incominciata assistita da un corraggio e fermezza summa, qualità proprie della M.^a S., si habbino con l' assistenza del Signore à superare in fine tutte le difficoltà e dare un stabilimento sodo alla vera Religione per ogni tempo avvenire.

27 Giugno, 1687.

. Le persistenze del Principe d' Oranges in non voler secondare le giusti disegni di S. M.^a in ordine alle leggi penali, ed il Testo, sono ancora più tenaci dopo l' arrivo cola del Sig^r Dikfelt, il quale deve haverli confermate le stesse male impressioni, che egli hà mostrato di avere prima di partirsì di quà, ed il d.^o Principe ha con sua sua lettera particolare autenticati à S. M.^a tali suoi sentimenti, accio che, non si havease più à dubitarne, accompagnandoli pensi con molte sense, e sommissioni, ma in sostenza fa vedere chiar^a, che è inutile lo sperare alcuna mutatione

di dettame, è cosa buona dalla di lui condotta, onde tanto più qu' si è in obbligo di pensare alli mezzi più proprij per precautionarsi in ogni tempo da chi mostra tanto da lontano, come si spera il malanimo, che nudrisce contro della vera Religione, e di ch' la professa, per ciò si persiste nella rissoluzione di cassare il presente Parlamento quanto prima, e con tal passo si crede di rompere interi* le misure contrarie prese dal voler sostenere il partito Anglicano, di cui è composto il medesimo. Questo è un discorso tenuto da Milord Sunderland, col quale havendo toccato l' affare 549346346859:464:4 (del Quartiere) me disse, che stimava assolutamente 1858715288 (che in Francia non) si sarebbe venuto a maggiori estremità, perchè oltre di essere la cosa per se tanto ingiusta, credeva che non si fosse in stato d' intraprendere impegni di questa natura senza poterne prevedere la riuscita.

16 Luglio, 1687.

Passò la M^a S. à dire che teneva avviso ben fondato, che si travagliasse da molti Principe Heretici, all' unione d' una lega per fatto di Religione, e contraporai alli vantaggi della Cattolica, che si speravano in questi regni, havendo in mira la Francia, e più l' Inghil^a, esserne il Principe d' Oranges il premotore principale, e poi l' Elettore di Brandeburgo con la casa di Brunavich, alli quali si sarebbe aggiunto la Suebia e forse in apresso la Danimarca; dicendo di più, che li Spagnoli ancora vi potevano, dar mano lusingando il Principe come creduto il maggior inimico della Francia, con la speranza di migliorare la loro conditione. Ponderò la M^a S. la gravèzza del fatto, e quanto era necessario di star ben attento à cercare tutti li mezzi per evitare un sì gran male, se venisse à stringersi il negotio, e scoppiare il turbine, m' impose, in fine, di portarne la riverente notizia à nostro Sig^o, accio che si la S^a S. giudicasse d' impiegare li suoi paterni ufficii col li Austriaci, potesse valerse ne come stimarebbe più proprio. . . .

Parlò in apresso Sa.

M^a con indignatione del Duca de Somerset, che si è scusato per non essere contumace di una legge, che vieta simili communicationi col timore di non perdere li suoi beni ne' tempi à venire, e diffuse long^a sopra questo soggetto, il fatto è, che hora tutto biasimano non viene perciò creduto miglior Anglicano; hà intatto perdute molte belle cariche e di profite, che godeva dalla regia beneficenza, e S. M^a mi disse hiersera che li parenti principali del d^o Somerset erano venuti à porsi à suoi piedi detestando la di lui attione, e per assicurarla, che non vi havevan parte nel consiglio, di cui non erano stati ricercati in alcun modo.

21 Luglio, 1687.

Sa M^a del Rè mi disse prima di partire, che in Olanda erano stati grand^e sorpresi della cassa^a del Parlamento, ed haver dato impulso à sospendere la rissoluzione, che havevan presa di perseguire in quelle provincie li Cattolici, e massime gl' ecclesiastici; confermò in apresso che si studiasse dal Principe all' unione della riferita lega, aggiungendo, che egli era capace di venire ad ogni estremità, e che li Spagnoli dovevan mirar bene à quel che facevano, mentre trattanuto con uno, che li haverebbe involuppati in grandis^{si} imbrogli; disse ancora, che il d^o Principe haveva ricusati due soggetti Cattolici proposti da S. M^a per mettere nelle truppe Inglesi, à solo titolo della loro religione, onde S. M^a per il cumulo di tutte queste amarezze pareva molto essacerbato, ed è ben facile, che il Principe s' inganni assai nelle proprie misure anco à riguardo dell' stessi interessi, che egli crede di meglio assicurare con le medesime.

8 Agosto, 1687.

Estate à trovarmi li giorni passati Milord Sunderland, e mi hà voluto dare una distinta informatione dello stato presente de gli affari. In primo luogo disse che aveva rappresentate al Rè prima di cassar il Parlamento tutte le reflexioni che potevano cadere sopra di una così importante rissoluzione, essendo d' un gran peso, e conseguenza, il rompere apertame^{te} con un partito intiero, come era quello de gl' Anglicani, sostenuto dalle leggi, e supporto della monarchia, à cui si era sempre constant^{mente} attaccato. Le considerationi principali erano, che dal scioglierlo si venivano ad eludere tutti gl' intrighi del Principe d' Oranges, il quale siccome credeva di assicurare unic^{amente} li suoi interessi col sostenere quelli della religione Anglicana e farne protettore, così questi nell' appoggiare le parti del Principe fondavano la propria sicurezza, e duratione, onde non esservi che sperare da questi in ordine à

togliere di mezzo le leggi penali, ed il testo, creduti argini forti, e difese necessarie alla propria conservazione, à questo si aggiungeva, che si sarebbe posta in controversia la decisione de' giudici à favore della prerogativa regia per la facoltà di dispensare da giuramenti, in vigore della quale tanti Cattolici erano entrati nelle cariche, dal che ne sarebbero risolti molti disturbi, e conseguenze perniciose; dall'altra parte si poteva promettere S. M. dal med. Parlamento ogni assistenza maggiore di denaro, e di ogn'altra cosa in qual si voglia bisogno del regno, e che la M. S. fosse obbligata di entrare in una guerra straniera ponderando il caso possibile della morte del Rè di Spagna senza successione, nel quale la sola Ingh^a potrebbe, e dovrebbe impedire una sovversione universale delle cose, e che non soccombessero alla dominazione di un solo esser ben vero, che non tartarebbero forze ordinarie ma necessitarsi tutte quelle del regno per contropesare una potenza, che si volesse rendere formidabile, e superiore à costo delle altre dell' Europa. Questi e simili vantaggi non doversi attendere d' un nuovo Parlamento composto di Non-conformisti nutrendo per li loro principij-sentimenti total' contrarij alla monarchia, ed alla autorità regia; e per il fatto della religione, non vi sarebbero entrati se non quanto poteva la loro convenienza, ed interesse, che era di vivere beati con la libertà concessa loro; ma per altro odiavano li Cattolici havendo le stesse gelosie di tutti, perciò avrebbero voluto limitare in ogni maniera le loro concessioni, e far solo tanto quanto gli paresse competente alli proprij dettami, per non mettere li Cattolici in stato, come dicono, di servirai delle stesse armi à pregiudicio di chi le darebbe loro nelle mani.

Considerato dunque tutto ciò matur^o da S. M.^a, haveva risoluto di cassare un Parlamento dal quale non vedeva luogo di sperare un corrispondente consenso ne suoi S.^a disegni, havendo balanciate tutte le altre convenienze di gran lunga inferiori alla principale che è l' avanzamento della religione Cattolica. Posto questo diceva, che hora tutte le misure dovevan esser indirizzate à travagliar util^o per l' elezione del nuovo Parlamento, e procurare di cavarne tutti li vantaggi possibili, studiando à questo fine di entrare in una buona corrispondenza col medesimo, quanto si potrà, mentre da questo dipende ogni buon successo; considerava, che dopo esser perso il partito Anglicano conveniva di distruggere, e proteggere in ogni modo l' altro qualunque fosse per non esporsi ad una intiera alienatione del regno, e ritrovarsi in una necessità di dover mettere tutta la confidenza nell' armata, di cui non se ne potrebbe forse all' occasione fare il capital conveniente quando riconoscesse la medesima necessità di dipendere dalle sue forze.

Instanto per scoprire l' animo delli settarij con li sensi loro, è prendere coherent^o le misure necessarie, si era portato lui Milord espres^o à farvi le dovute pratiche, e diligenze, e disse di haver riconosciuto esservi tre pareri diversi fra li medesimi in ordine alli Cattolici; il p.^o delli fanatici, che era di levare le leggi penali solam^o mantenendo il testo, che esclude tutti li Cattolici da ogni sorte di cariche; il secondo di altro genere di fanatici, ed independenti, e di admettere li Cattolici alle cariche, ma che non entrassero nel Parlamento; il terzo delli Presbiteriani è di accordarsi tutto il soprad^o con di più levare il testo, che esclude li Cattolici dalla Camera Alta, mantenendo il testo antico di suprematia, ed alleanza, che dal tempo della Regina Elisabetta hà tenuti esclusi li Cattolici dalla Camera Bassa; aggiunse il quarto parere de Cattolici, che S. M. si facesse entrare ambedue le camere con la regia dispensa sperando col numero de medesimi di assicurare il partito, e conseguire ogni cosa che si proponesse, ma in questo ultimo esser vitali difficoltà, che pareva impossibile di ridurlo in pratica, e S. M. medesima l' haveva ritrovato o sentito troppo pericoloso, perche si sarebbe dato luogo aponto ad una commotione universale nel p.^o ingresso del Parlamento, che haverebbe voluto discutere sopra la solidità della dispensa con rischio evidente di rovinare ogni cosa e di doverlo cassare alla prima sessione; in fine mi disse, che haveva voluto significarmi tutto ciò non havendo parlato con persona alcuna, se non con S. M., e mi faceva istanza che vi pensassi qualche giorno, e che poi ne haveressimo parlato insieme aggiungendo, per un effetto di bontà, che voleva conformarsi con i miei sentimenti per quello che dovesse fare. Corrisposi nel modo che seppi in ringraziarlo, e commendare il suo zelo per la causa publica, e servitio del Rè, assicurandolo del special grandimento di nostro Signore, intanto non lascio di pregare cald^o Iddio accioche si degni ispirare al Rè, ed al suo ministro principale, li mezzi più conformi per la buona direzione di un affare tanto importante, insieme pago le mie deboli orationi à S. D. M.^a, perche si degni concedermi qualche lume in occasione di dover discorrere sopra

di questo mentre è tanto difficile anco con tutte le nazioni particolari, ed individuali de gl' interessi diversi, che compongon la machina, di scie gliere il più espediente ad un buon fine, e molto più quando non si hanno. Per quello che ho potuto riconoscere dal discorso, ho creduto Milord Sunderland inclinato ad applicare à qualcheuno de partiti proposti, quando pure se potessero conseguire, col principio, che sia meglio di far un passo per volta, che stan fermo in voler tutto, per non ottenere poi niente. Il ponto sarà di vedere in fatti, se dopo di haver fatte tutte le deligenze che sono necessarie, si riconosca assolutu* impossibile di conseguire di un colpo quanto si desidera, ed in questo caso sarà sempre più vantaggio di avanzare quanto si può, che di fermarsi ne presenti termini ne quali tutto dipende dalla vita del Rè, il quale venendo à mancare, che Dio non voglia, la religione Cattolica sarebbe nel peggior stato di mai, e perciò li nostri inimici non cercano che di guadagnar tempo, il conoscere questa impossibilità del contrario dipende dalle notizie interiori, che haverà el Rè, e li suoi ministri, doppo che haveranno minut* ricercato il fondo di tutto.

22 Agosto, 1687.

Essendomi portato la sera dello stesso giorno alla Corte con disegno di supplicare S. M. per un audienza, ed essendo à quest' effetto entrato dove si trattengono le M. M. loro dopo cena, il Rè havendomi visto, mi chiamò à parte, e mi disse, che il M^e di Albeville havendo gli fatta una distinta relatione de gl' affari d' Olanda, gl' aveva insieme comunicata una aperta dichiarat* fatta dal Principe d' Oranges, di non voler admettere nelle truppe Inglese alcun Cattolico ne ufficiale, ne soldato semplice, e che mostrava sempre più una total aversione per tutto quello, che si poteva far di bene in Ingh^a, e di più che stava applicatis* à promoversi la riferita lega de principi heretici; onde diceva S. M. essere necessario di star ben attento per evitare un torbido di questa sorte, considerando ancora, che li Spagnoli potevan lasciarsi attingere dal desiderio, che hanno di vili dicarsi della Francia, ed intrare uniti* nel ballo; disse ben conoscere, che niuno hà più interesse della M. S. di non lasciare aggrandire maggior* la Francia, ma non perciò doversi esporre la religione e la Christianità ad un incendio tale, qual se preparava. Disse poi, che vedeva sempre più le grandis* difficoltà che porta e porterebbe l' Olanda allo stabilimento della religione Cattolica in questi regni, ed uscì in dire che bisognava abbassarne la superbia, aggiungendo che mi parlerebbe à lungo sopra di tutto questo, non essendovi all' hora tempo.

Hieri doppo pranso fù à trovar mi il M^e di Albeville, il quale mi disse molte cose delle male procedere di gl' Olandesi, e delle grandi opposizioni, che faranno sempre all' avanzamento della religione Cattolica in questi regni, e concluse, che non vi era altro modo di venirne ad un fine, che col' abbattere l' orgoglio de medesimi essendo tutte le altre strade inutili, ed insufficienti per il buon successo della grand' opera.

10 Ottobre, 1687

S. M. ne ha ricevute con con dolore la notizia, e tanto più quanto pare, che il gran bene, che fa la M. S. in questi suoi regni ne sia una principal c . . . attribuendosi in quanto puote alli santi disegni del Rè, credendo, con la sua prava politica di assicurarsi il camino al trono reale . . . à cui con ansia aspira, e gli pare di esserne già in possesso; ma non prevede forsi le contingenze dell' asito, alle quali è sottoposto il di lui pernicioso consiglio, e non considera, che vi è una mano onnipotente per abbattere la superbia de gl' huomini.

Mi darò l' honore di rapresentare à V. E., che questo ministro mi hà fatto più volte un idea tale dall' ambitione del Principe d' Oranges, e de suoi pensieri rivolti alle novità, che gli crede che convenga di anticipare per rompere li di lui misure, essendo persuaso, che non vi sia altro mezzo per riparare li danni, che egli prevede dover seguire alla Christianità, che non prevenirlo, e procurar di abbattere una potenza, che puote rendersi col tempo formidabile, e pericolosa à tutto il Christianesimo, considerando non solo la straord* applicatione, che ha di formar una lega di principi heretici, e quella di opporsi quanto puote al progresso della religione in questi regni, ma ancora il tempo à venire nel caso della successione à questa corona, che il Sig^o non voglia, mentre utile le due potenze d' Ingh^a e d' Olanda sarrebbero patrone del mare, ed in conseguenza crede, che potrebbero dar la

legge à gl' altri principi della Christianità con pericolo ancora di vedere un giorno un Imperatore Protestante.

2 Gennajo, 1688.

Ho rapresentati à Milord Sunderland li sensi paterni de N. S.^a in ordine all' istanze^l Regie, che le sono state portate per qualche sovenim^{to} in beneficio di quelle, che quà si convertono, rimostrandogli à lungo con li vivis^{si} desiderio che haverebbe havuto la S.^a S. di poter compiacere S. M. in una cosa alla qual' oltre la consideration^e singolare di grandi meriti della M. S. sarebbe portata dal suo paterno zelo per promuovere in tutte le forme il ristabilimento della religion^e Cattolica in questi regni, un egual dispiacere di vidersi impossibilitata al presenti dall' angusti della Camera Ap.^a, come procurai di fargli comprendere con la deductione de' particolari essausta per le largh^e assistenze soministrate sin hora all' Imperatore, e principi collegati nella guerra contra del Turco, à poter fare verso della M. S. quello, che farebbe in miglior congiuntura.

23 Gennajo, 1688.

Mi sono pervenute in questa settimana due benignis^{se} lettere di V. E. in data delli 20 e 27 di X.^{mo} passato; è uscita alla stampa in lingua Inglese una pretesa lettera del Pensionario Fagel d' Olanda, in riposta di un'altra scritagli da un soggetto di quà: in cui si suppone lo richiedesse li sentimenti del Principe e Principessa d' Oranges in ordine à levare il testo e le leggi penali; vengono dunque spiegati diffus^a nella lettera piena di veleno li sensi perniciosi delli detti principi, col mostrare in qualche parte sembianza di moderatione à favore de' Cattolici, insinuando di approvare bensì, che si levino di mezzo quelle legge più, che possino mettersi al coperto di ogni persecutione, ma insistendo acutamente che si debbo chiudere loro il passo ad entrare à parte del governo, ò in alcun altro impiego, in modo che la religion^e stabilita per le leggi, che è la Protestante, sia non solo mantenuta nel suo intero, ma fuor di ogni dubbio di poter ricevere mai alcun pregiudizio dalle innovationi che si pretendono di fare, perciò deversì mantenere il testo come un antemurale della S.^a religion^e. Questa lettera viene riputata da molti per finta, ma altri non hanno difficoltà di crederla per vera, essendo già troppo noti li sensi del Principe in ordine à questo affare, e spiegati apert^a ad ogn' uno dal Sig^o Diskfelt, quando fu in questa Corte, ed al Sig^o M^o di Albeville, ministro de S. M. in Olanda, onde comunque sia la lettera, e da qualsisia parte, che ne derivi il perverso tenore, viene molto à contratempo in queste congiunture, che si fanno le diligenze per il nuovo Parlamento, causando impressioni, e timori nel popolo già troppo adombrato per le continue influenze, che gli vengono date in oppositione di S.^a disegni del Rè, il quale nondimeno, col suo heroico zelo, hà l' animo superiore à tutte le difficoltà, ed hà ottime speranze per la grande confidenza che tiene nella divina misericordia, di dovere riuscire con felice successo.

20 Febrajo, 1688.

La sera di sabbato scorsa al circolo della Regina la M. del Rè intrò meco in discorso sopra l' haver richiamati li sei reg^{ti} d' Olanda, ed insieme sì dolse della condotta delli Stati Generali in ordine al Burnet ribelle della M. S. come posita^a contraria al trattato di pace tra le due potenze, e riferì li termini del trattato, che era di consegnare ò bandire li rebellì di questo regno, che si ritirassero in Olanda, sopra di che conchiuse con voce un poco alta da essere udita da che stava vicino, che questo sarebbe stato un giusto pretesto per fargli la guerra, ma non perciò haverà l' intentione, e si diffuse in tal proposito. Due giorni doppo nella stessa occasione del circolo, S. M. havendomi visto mi chiamò, ed intrato in una camera interiore mi disse che l' Ambasc^{iatore} d' Olanda gl' haveva domandata un odenza, in cui haveva rappresentata con grand' inquietudine alla M. S. di essergli stato riferito, che S. M. medesima haveva detto al Nuntio che haveva un giusto pretesto di far la guerra alli Stati, sopra di ch' egli prese quello di addurre tutte le pretes^e ragioni per appagar^{le} la M. S., e giustificò li suoi proni sopra l' essere il detto Burnet naturalizzato del paese col dritto della borghesia, il quale richiede che si debbano osservare le formalità del processo per venire ad alcuna rissolutione contro di chi possiede tal dritto, e molte altre cose di questa natura, che non soddisfacevano S. M. la quai fonda l' istanza tutta sopra del trattato; in fine gli disse, che non si ricordava precis^a le parole che havesse detto à me, ma direbbe ben a lui Amb^{asciatore} li suoi reall

sensì, li quali erano, che quando li suoi principali negligessero l' essecut^a de' trattati, come facevano present^a, sempre le darebbero giustificato motivo di agir con essi loro ne' modi più forti, ciò nonostante non haver hora intent^a di far la guerra, pero gli farebbe dar la risposta nelle forme sopra di quella ultim^a data dagl' Olandesi in questo proposito.

Finito questo discorso disse S. M. ridendo, che questo Signor Amb^o di Spagna gl' haveva fatta havere una copia di lettera del Sig^o M^o di Cogolludo, e che voleva mostrar me la, in questo dire si accostò ad un tavolino, ed havendo tirate dal soccoccio molte carte, ne havendovi ritrovata la suddetta copia, mi disse, che il giorno seguente me la darebbe, intanto, che il contenuto era con l' istanza fatta à favore del Pre' Pitters, che quelli che scrivevano di quà per questo affare non lo facessero con il vigore che conveniva, e proseguì dicendo che l' Amb^o gli haveva fatta havere per il Pre' Warner suo confessore parendogli tutto ciò come misterioso, nel qual mentre fù avisata per la cena, e passo à prendere la Regina. Il giorno seguente il Rd la diede à vedere à Milord Sunderland, il qual' me ne parlò con la rifless^a che fosse un artificio di questo Sig^o Amb^o per apporre à lui Milord, che non haveva adempite esatt^a le sue parti nel detto affare del Pre' Pitters, con ch' egli giudicio di parlarne lonha^a a S. M. e dirgli con schiet^a quello che egli ne credeva, di che S. M. restò persuasa, come lo stesso Milord mi hà simil^a detto. La stessa sera S. M. mi diede la suddetta lettera dicendomi, che poi gli la rendessi, con che havendon^a tenuta copia, l' hò resa alla M. S., la quall' in tal riscontro mi disse, ch' era una cabala per metter mal' tra Milord Sunderland ed il Pre' Pitters, e non poteva esser altro, e torno à dirmi, ch' l' Amb^o, mesi sono, entrasse da se con la M. S. in discorso del Pre' Pitters, dicendo ch' conosceva molto ben' la Corte di Roma, e lasciasse, che la servirebbe, e conchiuse, che voleva parlarne all' Amb^o. Io pregai la M. S. di non dargli à conoscere, che mi haveva mostrata la lettera per evitare tutti gl' impegni: rispose, che non mi prendessi pena, che non ne parlarebbe. Questo Sig^o Amb^o hà creduto di guadagnar il Pre' Pitters, ed aquistar merito con S. M. ed al contrario sie fabricatò degli imbrogli, e malevolenze che non gli saranno ponto proffittevoli, ne quanto al publico, ne per il privato: intanto spero, che il sig^o norrà cavarne del ben' da questi intrighi, col far almeno riposare le premure Regie per il detto Pre' Pitters nonostante, che siano risoluti dal medesimo negotio.

9 Marzo, 1688.

Si dolse del Pr^o d' Oranges, che fosse il più grand nemico de' Cattolici, e poi disse, che ciò nonostante non haveva in animo di far la guerra à gl' Olandesi, ma si questi si movessero, che si difenderebbe, e replicò più volte quest' espressione; parlò del numero de' Cattolici, che si aumentava, e che accrescendosi quello delle capelle nella città nondimeno si trovano sempre ripiene di popolo, disse, che nell' ultima aperta da Pri^o Francescani vi si era fatta la professione di un loro Religioso, e che già pareva una città Cattolica; dicendo questo con tal compiacenza prodotta dal suo gran' zelo, che non si puol spiegare con parole sufficienti.

12 Marzo, 1688.

Li giorni passati v' è stato un gran dibattimento nel consiglio di S. M. sopra la convocazione del nuovo Parlamento; trovandosi la maggior parte di senzo, che si dovesse convocare present^a prima del parto della Regina, con la riflessione, che non si havebbe à perdere la congiuntura del peso, e credito, che potesse dare la gravidanza della stessa Regina, nel qual tempo l' attenzione universale stà rivolta verso di un Principe di Gales, e questa poter essere talmente efficace nell' animo dei sudditi per doverli far concorrere ne' giusti sentimenti di S. M., la quale pareva inclinata à seguire questo parere: è stato di senso contrario Milord Sunderland, il quale considerando la d^a unione del Parlamento come il ponto decisivo di correnti affari, e di tanta conseguenza per ogni successo, che sia per risultarne, ò buono ò cattivo, che convenga di haver una morale sicurezza, quanto è possibile, di ben riuscirne prima di convocarlo; dall' altra parte per la cognitione interiore, che hà delle misure che si prendono in questo negotio, con la deduzione dei particolari, ha fatto riconoscere, che le cose non siano ancora in tale stato da poter fondare una probabilità del successo, ne essere buon consiglio di rimettere alla contingenza del caso un affare tanto importante, dal quale dipende sì gran bene, ò gran male, contro il parere di qualch' uno, che dice-

va, che quando final^{te} il Parlamento non facendo il suo dovere si avesse a sciogliere, il Rè resterebbe ne' termini ne' quali si trova present^e e potrebbe prendere altri partiti, in che non conveniva Milord, mentre hora essendosi alienato intier^{te} il partito Anglicano, si fondano tutte le speranze sopra quello de Nonconformisti, de' quali si deve comporre il Parlamento, onde se questo si venisse una volta a disgiustare, tutto il regno sarebbe unito in opposizione dell' autorità regia, ne li Cattolici essere di forze sufficiente a poter fare un valevole contrapeso, concludendo, che sia necessario di rimettere la detta convocazione, ad un tempo, che tutte le dispositione previe siano poste in opera, come l' importanza del negotio lo richiede. Questo è la sostanza di un lungo discorso, che mi tene hieri lo stesso Milord, che si è riserbato a parteciparme lo stato interiore ed individuale delle cose, che riguardano lo stesso Parlamento.

L' altra sera S. M. dopo haver cenato mi chiamò in disparte e mi disse, che tempo fu che m' aveva motivato di una lega di religione, che si tramava in Olanda promossa dal Principe d' Oranges, della quale hora ne aveva ricevuti riscontri più accertati, che il Principe era quello che sosteneva il Burnet, che il medesimo impediva hora ritorno delle sue truppe con l' intenzione di servirsene contro S. M., che il di lui dettame era d' insapir la in modo con i replicati dispiaceri, dà obligarla ad intrare in una guerra, ma come già mi aveva detto, non si lascierebbe indurre dalla passione, o dalle voglie altrui a far quello, che non gli convenisse, e voleva imitare s. ^{ta} nella sofferenza, che in fine veniva assicurata da buona parte, che tutte le misure del Principe fossero per una guerra di religione, ed avere in principal mira l' Inghilterra. Io risposi, che essendo le cose in questo stato, che S. M. mi diceva, bisognava haverne una gran parte dell' obligo alla Francia, che ne felicitarebbe il modo con i presenti suoi comportamenti. S. M. disse, che non ne dubitava, e che il Principe godeva di questi impegni, ma volerne parlare al Amb^{ro} di Francia, venendo solo di ricevere la confermazione delle sud. cose. Fù un poco pensativa la M. S., ed poi disse, se li Spagnoli volessero far del bene, sarebbe il tempo di poterlo render grande alla Christianità, e vi aggiunse una m^a, e poi conchiuse, che aveva un progetto da fare, e con più commodo di tempo voleva comunicarmelo, e si ritirò con la Regina.

26 Marzo, 1688.

E venuta d' Olanda la seconda risposta con la negativa alla replicata istanza fatta alli Stati con una memoria del Mro di S. M. all' Haya per conseguire il ritorno delli soldati di questa natione che si trovano in quel servizio. La detta risposta è stata data in scritto, con un lungo discorso fondato su principj falsi e stravaganti, ch' ogni huomo nasca con tal libertà, che possa servirsi della medesima a suo benepiacito per sogettarsi a qual Principe, d' stato, ch' egli torna più in piacere, e sottrasi a misura d' ogni debito verso del suo sig^{no} natur^{ale}. Subito giunta S. M. me ne fece una tal succinta relatione, e poi l' altro hiesera la M. S. mi disse, che questo Amb^{ro} d' Olanda le aveva detto in un audienza havuta il giorno di presentarsi alla M. S. per dilucidare con la spiegat^a la risposta delli Stati, e che S. M. si fosse espressa in poche parole che se avesse a far dar alcuna risposta, ne darebbe tal ordin' al Marchese di Albeville all' Haya, che giudicasse più convenire al suo servizio: disse poi suav^{te} ch' aveva ordinato di publicarsi una proclamatione, ch' è uscita hieri, in cui si ingiunge a tutti li suoi sudditi, che servono alli Olandesi, di doverlo lasciare, e ritornarsen' in Inghi^a; esser già venuti più di sessanta ufficiali, tra quali la metà in circa sono Cattolici, in che si era ingannato il Principe d' Oranges lusingandosi che li soli Cattolici si valerebbero della permissione data alli ufficiali delli sei regimenti di ritornare.

Similmente con le ultime lettere d' Olanda si è inteso l' arrivo colà del dispaccio regio, che portava il capitolo espresso del trattato riferito con le passate, e segnato in nome delli Stati dal Principe d' Oranges, e che già il sentim^{to} fosse di dover considerarlo per non valevol' perche non sia stato ratificato, quando per altro non si è mai rievocato in dubbio il valore del detto trattato nell' attual osservanza di altri articoli, il che supplirebbe ad ogni ratification, la qual in questo caso non era giudicata necessaria per non essersi mai praticato in simil sorte di capitolar^{ti} particolari, onde si vede chiat^{te} che il Principe d' Oranges che vien riputato il motore di tutte queste stravaganze, fa ogni studio non solo di opporsi dirretttamente in quanto puot^{te} alli giusti disegni di S. M., ma insieme pretende vanità di farlo conoscere a tutto il mondo, e pensa di tirare il vantaggio ch' si è

proposta da un tal condotta, di assicurarsi più stabilmente il fondamento delle sue vane speranze.

2 Aprile, 1688.

Ho ricevuti in questa settimana due benigni¹ spacci di V. E. in data d' 28 de Feb^o e 6 de Marzo con una lettera, ed una cifra in ciascheduno di essi, ed avendo significati à Milord Sunderland li sensi benigni¹ del gradim^{to} di V. Sig^o per il zelo da lui dimostrato, e ch' sempre più dimostra nelle corrente emergenze à favore della S^{ta} S., mi ha risposto con le espressioni del più vivo ed humil^e riconoscim^{to}, e di non haver mai meritato in alcun conto tali gratie pontificie, bensì che procurerebbe con ogni studio di far apparire in tutte le occasioni il suo ossequio, e l' ardente desiderio ch' hà di segnalarsi nel servizio della S^{ta} S.

Questo Ministro mi ha tenuto un lungo discorso sopra lo stato, in cui si trovano present^e le cose si vanno avanzando per il buon successo del med^e. Diceva dunque che si prosiegua nell' opera incominciata di mutare tutte le corporat^e e magistrati del regno, ch' erano nelle mani degli Anglicani, e si mettono in quelle de' Nonconformisti, dal qual partito si spera di conseguire l' assistenza, e concorso necessario per far eleggere tali Parliam^{en}tarij, che siano del gusto, ed approvati¹ della M. S., di tal mutati¹ che richiede longhezza di tempo, se n' è fatta una buona parte ed hora si va proseguendo quella che rimane da farsi, ed è la principal ragione, per la quale non si possa così in breve, come si credeva, e si desiderava da S. M., e da tutti li buoni, convocare il med^e Parlamento, essendosi in questo mentre, procurato dalli mali intentionati di seminare tra il popolo, che li disegni di S. M. fossero per risultare alla fine pregiudiziale alla libertà, e loro privilegj; quando arrivasse à conseguire quello, ch' hora pretendeva, ed in sostanza, che le dimostrationi, che hora si fanno dal governo, per autenticare le buon^e intentioni, che si sono sempre havute con la direction^e al maggior bene è tranquillità del regno non siano sincere, ma allettam^{to} per ingannarli e poi opprimerli. Perciò si è giudicato espediente à poter levare tali gelosie, che con facilità si imprimono negl' animi di questa gente, di dar^e ordin^e, come si è fatto con istruzioni particolari del modo di governarsi alli dodici giudici del regno, che vanno in giro in tutte le provincie ad essercitarvi la giudicatura, d' informare non solo le persone della precisa volontà del Rè in ordin^e à levare il Testo, e le leggi penali, ma insieme far comprendere ad ogni uno il ben^e che ne sarà per risultare con la pace e concordia di tutti, al che aspirano li sensi di S. M.: di più si mandano ne' luoghi principali delle med^e provincie altre persone fedeli, e di credito, le quali studiaranno di dare le med^e impressioni e togliere le contrarie, con speranza che habbino à riuscire di gran profitto: fatto questo che si suppone dover essere tutto eseguito verso la fine del presente mese, ò al principio del venture, S. M. farà pubblicare una seconda proclamazione di libertà di coscienza, in cui sarà inserita litteralm^e la medesima dell' anno passato con aggiungervi un preambolo, ed alla fin alcune dichiarazioni particolari delli sensi Regij, per far intendere che sono uniformi ed ello stesso tenore di prima, senza che tutti gli accidenti sopravvenuti habbino potuto alterarli, con la riflessione ancora di fare che il popolo conosca, che hoggi si vuol^e lo stesso, che si voleva un anno fù, à beneficio publico, e non habbino luogo di dubitare che si intenda di procedere con altre misura, che gl' ingelosiscano maggiormente; si verra in apresso senza differir più à dichiarare il tempo che S. M. vuol convocare il Parlamento, che è risolutò verso la fin di 8^{ma} ò principio di 9^{ma}, doppo di che si procederà all' eletti¹ de' sogetti che dovranno comporlo.

Mi ha detto di più, che alcuni di questi capi principali della religion Anglicana, e fra essi il vescovo di Londra, hanno fatte li giorni passati molte conventicol^e assieme^e e cominciando à persuadersi, che il negotio sia per riuscire secondo l' intentione del Rè, habbino esaminata fra di loro di far qualche proposit¹ à S. M. di unirvi il loro consenso à qualche condit¹, con la mira, ò di ingelosire li Nonconformisti, e ritirali dal partito regio con apparenza del loro accomodamento, ò per proprio interesse di non perdersi intieramente, quando S. M. venga senza di essi à conseguire l' intento.

9 Aprile, 1688.

La morte seguita li giorni passati del vescovo di Oxford hà dato luogo di mettere in esecuzione il pensiero proposto da Milord Sunderland, di appoggiare alla directione di uno delli nuovi prelati il collegio della Madalena di Oxford, per poter ivi

stabilire con autorità un luogo dove si habbi ad insegnare pubblicamente la vera dottrina, e di la poi diffondersi consecutiva^{te} nell' altre parte del regno : à questo ufficio S. M. ha destinato il sig^{ro} Ciffore dotto e zelante, che sarà per far fruttificare con ogni studio maggiore un applicatione così utile, à beneficio della religione Cattolica. Mi ha detto la M. S. l' elett^o, che ha fatta con la compiacenza di considerarvi, che l' apertura sia tanto propria per introdurre, e fondare in un università così celebre in queste parti quegli insegnam^{ti}, che da così lungo tempo ne sono stati sbanditi, e che il soggetto sia commendabile per tirarne tutto il possibil vantaggio, il qual vien proposto grandis^{simo} anco nell' educatione di molti alcuni, che per essere ricco il collegio, potranno ivi alimentarsi in numero competente. S. M. mi disse insieme, che il detto vescovo di Oxford era morto senza alcuna religione, come son' nella maggior parte questi principali, e che fanno più strepito all' hor che si tratta di qualsisia minime vantaggio à favore de' Cattolici, di questi vescovi molti son riconosciuti da ogn' uno per Prebiteriani di professione.

Mi hà detto la M^a S. di ridersi delle illusioni ch' hanno li malintenzionati, che quando si venisse ad una aperta rottura con gli Olandesi, benchè le forze di quà siano grandi, la flotta numerosa di vascelli e di militi, nondimeno, ne questo, ne li marinari sarebbero per far da doverò contro di essi in tal congiuntura ; che li considerano come uniti nell' interesse della religione, se ben divisi in ogn' altro, che riguarda il vantaggio di questa natione, che questa sarà il motivo per non haver ad impegnarsi in una simil guerra, ma si bene quello di considerare, che le applicationi di S. M^a, dentro il regno, à stabilir vi li suoi s^{ti} disegni, e le divisioni interni che da questo nascono l' obligano ad evitare qual si voglia altro impegno, che si sia di guerra, anzi di procurare che la pace si conservi ancora fra gli altri Principi per non esservi tirato in conseguenza dalla necessità, ed haver in fine luogo di comporre le cose domestiche senza esser distratto in altra parte con pericolo di peggiorarne la condit^{ione}. E stata portata al sig^{ro} M^o di Albeville, ministro di S. M. all' Haya, una lettera cieca piena di minacce contro della sua persona, e famiglia, se non desistesse dal fervente operare nelle correnti emergenze, onde egli hà creduto aproposito di darne parte al presidente delle Stati, e simil^{mente} lo hà comunicato à diversi ministri de' Principi, il che quà non vien approvato facendosi strepito di un fatto segreto, di cui non si conosce l' autore, e non puot risultar bene alcuno da simili doglianze, che dovranno restare inutili, e senza effetto, sin che non sia rinvenuta la trama dell' attentato.

23 Aprile, 1688.

Milord Sunderland mi ha comunicato confidamente un pensiero che tiene S. M. di far qualche mutatione nel consiglio del Gabinetto, anzi di due consigli particolari separate, che hora vi sono, formar ne uno solo nel qual' entrino li Cattolici consiglieri, e Protestanti, per levare tutte le gelosie fra li ministri, e che debbono concorrere senza diffidenza al maggior ben publico, ed al servizio della S. M. con un profittevol' incentivo alli stessi Protestanti, li quali per la stessa ragione vorranno distinguersi nel secondare li giusti disegni della M. S. Nel questo consiglio si dovranno agitare tutte le occorrenze delli tre regni, perche le deliberationi siano più uniformi, e con l' armonia necessaria al buon' ordine, mentre essendosi in tal qual modo governare sin hora à parte le materie concernenti la Scotia, e l' Irlanda, si è riconosciuto il vantaggio, che risulterà dall' essere trattate e discusse nel med^{esimo} consiglio, dal qual nondimeno S. M. si servira sempre di alcuni pochi per conferire li negotij più importanti, e massim^{amente} forastieri che richiedono più riserva, e non si estenda la communicatione in molti.

30 Aprile, 1688. :

Havendo il vescovo di Bath e Wells li giorni passati predicato avanti la Principessa, e gran' parte della Corte, con una libertà prodigiosa contro li Cattolici, deplorando lo stato presente del regno col portare un testo del Profeta Michea del abbattimento à risorgere di Gerusalemme, ed havendone io havuta notizia qualche giorno doppo hò creduto mio obbligo di parlar^{mi} à S. M., e rappresentar gli le perniciose conseguenze che derivaranno dal tollerare un arditezza sì pregiudiziale nella casa propria del Rè, che rende necessaria la sofferenza di ogni simil discorso seditioso nella città, ed in tutto il regno, ed è l' unico modo per eccitare le lingue de' predicanti à sfogare il loro mal talento, che era principal^{mente} diretto contro la sua real persona e stato. S. M. hà havuto la bontà di gradire quelche gli

disai, e mostrò rissol^{to} di volervi por rimedio, volle in apresso raccontarmi le qualità del detto vescovo, che diceva haver uua relig. à parte, ed esser reputato trà questi heretici per un santone. Mi disse poi la M. S. che in Olanda havevano publicate alcun' impressioni contro della sua real persona, che veniva supposta autore dell' incendio di Londra, delle morte del Co. di Essex, che si tagliò la gola in prigion', e di avelenato il fu Rè suo fratello; mà nonostante andava tollerando: con che queste due potenze per hora si conteranno in passar doglianze vicendevoli, senza venirsi à rottura aperta, abbenchè si ricerchi con ogni studio dal Principe d' Oranges coll' irritare sempre più la regia sofferenza.

Alcune persone ben informate sono persuase che l' intention' degli Olandesi nell' havere accresciuto il loro armamento maritimo fosse di farlo passare sopra le coste di questo regno per dar colore alli fattiosi sopra il credito, che si dovesse tenere il Parlamento nel prossima maggio, comè quà ne correva per certa la voce. . . .

14 Maggio, 1688.

. . . . Mi do l' honore di rimettere à V. E. acclusa la copia della nuova dichiarazione tradotta in Italiano, sopra della qual già si sentono uscite molte osservazioni malitiose de' spiriti maligni, e hiersera Milord Sunderland me le fece veder in scritto tratte dalle intelligenze che egli tien' nel partito contrario, mà perche non possono trovar à ridire al fatto in se stesso si sforzano di accreditare le intenzioni di S. M. per non sincere, e siano artificij per giungere al governo assoluto ed arbitrario, notando principalment^e qualche si dice nella dichiarazione delle armate, con asserirle apanto per il peso più insoffribile, ed inusitato, e contro la libertà della natione, e dove si parla della mutatione d' ufficiali vien gloriato che sia per togliere la stessa libertà, e sforsare un Parlamento à distruggere le leggi principali del regno, con altri simili riflessi sopra ciascheduna espressione della detta dichiarazione, con dire di più, che essendo rimessa la convocazione del Parlamento à 9^{ma}, faceva chiaramente vedere, che le cose non fossero nello stato che il Rè desiderava, ed in conseguenza essersi da sperare, che non lo sarebbero per quel tempo.

Diceva Milord di haverle fatte vedere al Rè, disse ancora nominando alcuni di questi capi principali come Milord Halifax, ed altri della corte med^a, li quali dicevano che S. M. non riuscirebbe mai ne suoi disegni, e non vi essere che tener fermo, mentre alla fine ne seguirebbe una rottura col partito de' Nonconformisti, e che all' hora S. M. sarebbe obbligata dalla necessità di voltarsi à loro, cio è gli Anglicani, e le cose andaranno à loro modo. Milord aggiungeva di non dubitare che resterebbero ingannati ne loro perversi sentimenti, e lo stesso risentirsi che facevano essere un segno che l' applicatione de' remedij oportuni operasse felicemente.

30 Maggio, 1688.

Mi do l' honore di rimettere à V.E. il duplicato dello scritto Venerdi passato per la posta di Fiandra, alche aggiungerò riverent^e la notizia di quello ch' è successo di assai considerabile in questi tre giorni. Parendo molto duro a questi vescovi Protestanti che la dichiarazione della libertà di coscienza fosse letta ne loro tempi al popolo secondo l' ordine regio, che n' era uscito, sei de medⁱ vescovi, tra quali l' Arciv^o di Cantorberi, si sono uniti in deliberatione di presentare una petitione à S.M., come hanno fatto, per dispensarsi dal' adempimento del d^o ordine; S. M. rispose loro con ardenza, e con senso, conchiudendo, che attendeva di essere obbedita. Con tutto ciò hieri Domenica, ch' era uno delli giorni destinati alla soprad^a lettura, non si esegui, che in pochisⁱ luoghi, onde resta impegnata l'autorità regia dalla contumacia di questi disubdienti. Ma quello ch' è peggio, e degno di gran riflessione si è, che nella soprad^a rimostranza vi sono inseriti sensi perniciosissimi, che tendono à metter in contingenza la medesima autorità, come V. E. si degnarà di vedere dall' accluso foglio, ch' è un voto soprà del quale si è in buona parte fondata la sud^a petitione. Milord Sunderland è di opinione, che S. M. sia per ritrarne da questo successo gran vantaggio allo stabilimento di suoi santi disegni, e S. M. medesima hieri sera si è espressa meco ne medesimi sensi, persuasa che siano pochi li conspiratori in questo disegno perverso, e che debba risultarne una divisione tra gli heretici favorevol' al ben publico, ed alle misure che sarà per prendere in quest' affare; ni nominò alcuni principali Protestanti, che detestavano una simile condotta. Il caso pare gravissimo e forse il più critico, che sia ancor arrivato nel

regno della M. S., e potrebbe avere più radici di quello che apparentemente hora si vede, perciò con lasciai di metterlo nella prudente considerazione della M. S., come che necessiti di tutta l'aplicatione immaginabile per cavarne apunto quel beneficio, che S.M. sperava, ed evitare le peniciose conseguenze, che possono influire li mal intentionati nel prevalersi della congiuntura. S.M. è and ahoggi alla caccia, e Milord Sunderland à Windsor per ritornare questa sera, di quello, che andará succedendo ne darò riverentemente conto alla V.E.

4 Giugno, 1688.

Hò ricevuto il benignis' spaccio di V.E. in data del p° del passato, con due lettere ed un dupl° di cifra, ed in data del detto stesso mese un'altra lettera. L' affare delli vescovi è hora, per così dire, l' unico che tiene non solo la corte, ma ogn' uno, in attenzione delle misure che si pigliaranno per darvi un uscita, e vedere si la autorità regia sia per ritrarne credito, ò discapito, ch' è il ponto essenziale di cui si tratta, non conoscendosi alcun mezzo, bensì ò di perder molto, ò di guadagnare, ch' è il fine proposto si de M. S. e che le pare sicuro e considerando l' attione e contumacia delli vescovi tanto fuora d' ogni ordine che gli ne posse facilitar il modo, nondimeno la difficoltà è in scieglier le strade opportune nelle circostanze presenti delle agitati-ioni domestiche, che siano le più atte à conseguirlo.

Li SS' Cattolici non è dubio, che vorrebbero che si procedesse con estremo rigore, e ripongono à buona congiuntura quella che si offerisce di dar una specie di esemplare castigo nelle persone delli disubbidienti, il quale servirebbe d' insegnamento ad ogn' uno per dover procedere nell' avvenire con le cautele del rispetto, e sottomissione dovuta, altrimenti credono che la moderatione e la clemenza habbino ad essere argomenti di debolezza nel governo, ed incentivi per passar avanti ne loro perversi disegni con l' impunita del primo passo. Milord Sunderland havendomene parlato la discorre in un'altra maniera, e dice che l' unico pensiero del Rè deve essere rivolto al Parlamento, e tutte le misure, che si prendono nella condotta del governo, devono riferirsi con la mira fissa al buon successo del medesim° Parlamento, ch' è l' opera, à cui si travaglia da così lungo tempo per lo stabilimento de' santi disegni di S. M. Posto questo egli diceva, che se hora si viene ad un procedere criminale contro di tutti quelli, che lo sono nella causa, per farlo col rigor conveniente al caso mentre non bisognarebbe mettermi mano per poco, sarà necessario di passar li termini delle leggi ordinarie, onde per la moltitudine delli delinquenti, che farebbero strepito, essendovi inclusi tutti li ministri, à quali è diretto il mandato, che non hanno obbedito, e per l' irritatione che causarebbe nell' universale disposto in attribuire gran parte del castigo ad un rigore arbitrario, che è appunto quello, che si teme da ogni sorte di gente, ne seguirebbe tal alienatione d' animo in tutti che non servirebbe più di pensare à Parlamento, ma bensì riporre gl' ulteriori procedimenti nella forza, e nell' armata, il qual mezzo non si crede sin hora competente alla directione delle cose, anzi non dovrà scrivere, che ne gli estremi, e quando vi si fosse portato da una strestis' necessità, massim' ancora che si sarebbe molto che riflettere sopra la condizione della medesim' armata, come si son dato l'honore di accennare à V.E. con le passate. Diceva dunque che dovendosi fabricare su tal fondam° era di parere per mantenere il decoro, e l' autorità regia, che si dovesse fare dal Rè una dichiarazione in cui S.M. mostrà il giusto e gran risentimento, à cui l' ardittezza e disubbidienza di vescovi lo haveva provocato, ma che voleva più tosto usare della sua clemenze, e sospenderlo per hora, ricordandosi ancora della fedeltà, che la chiesa Anglicana haveva sempre mostrata ne' tempi passati verso la corona, e simili altri coonestamenti, rimettendosi al vicino Parlamento per riconoscere dalli loro comportamenti, si fossero pentiti del error commesso, e non si volessero abusare della presente sua real bontà acciocchè non sia obligato di adempire con maggior severità quello, che hora sospende di fare per li sud' risguardi. Conchiudeva che in questo modo si renderebbero più facili le misure dello stesso Parlamento, e cadendo l' odio sopra gli Anglicani si unirebbero tanto maggiormente li dissentisti à promuovere lo stabilimento delli giusti disegni di S. M. Aggiungeva Milord di haver comunicato alla M. S. questo consiglio del gabinetto, li quali vorrebbero qualche dimostrazione vigorosa, in cui credono riposta in gran parte la sicurezza del governo, ma egli credeva assolut' che lo stato presente delle cose ricercasse in tal congiuntura il sud' modo di agire:

11 Giugno, 1688.

L' affare de' vescovi sie dibattuto nel consiglio secondo li diversi opinioni del rigore e dalla altra strada proposta da Milord Sunderland. Finalmente S. M. ha presa come una risoluzione di mezzo di far procedere contro di essi nella forma legale, e riservarsi di usar della sua clemenze si lo giudicava a proposito quando sia perfectionato loro il processo circa l' esecuzione della sentenza, credendo in questo modo di soddisfare alla parte della giustizia nel mostrare la sforza per servirsene ancora essendo opportuno, e ritirarla quando il suo maggior servizio lo richieda. Restano perciò citati li sudd' vescovi avanti del consiglio regio per hoggi otto ove dovranno comparire, e di quello che arrivava nedaro rivirent^o conto a V.E. intanto comunque ne habbe ad essere il successo e da temersi molto che possa influire a render difficile quello del Parlamento per l' interesse scoperto che prende in quest' affare quasi tutto il corpo ecclesiastico, e sin hora non compariscono segni di divisioni nel grosso degl' Anglicani, ma piuttosto questi sperano di tirare nel loro consenso parte delle Nonconformisti. In ogni modo se la divina misericordia concederà un maschio alla Regina, si ha da sperare che tante contradizioni e machini degli inimici habbino a dileguarsi facilmente, abbenche dicano di voler all hora essere più ostinati, ed accrescere lo studio, che hora impiegano, per conservare la Religione Anglicano.

Di Olanda scrivono, che si fossero molto ralleggrati colà dell' indicente de' vescovi, sperando di ritrarne vantaggio nell' aumentarsi che fa la materia delle alterationi domestiche in questo regno, pronti a nudrirlo con tutti gli artificii, e perniciose orditure, come hanno sempre fatto.

22 Giugno, 1688.

Quà nondimeno si è visto chiar^o il dolore e la tristezza ne volti una gran parte alla felice nuova della nascita del Principe, oltre la libertà contumace nelli discorsi, che non par credibile, arrivando sino al dirsi, che sia un parto supposto, o non dal Rè, la sera della Domenica stessa, in cui si fossero fuochi di allegrezza, pochis' se ne viddero nel corpo che è propri^o detto della città. Per il contrario nell' accidente del male del Principe, ne fu sparsa la morte, e creduta per il desiderio de' tristi con segni manifesti di contento, e di gioja; nel che è ammirabile le grandezza d' anima del Rè, il quale dovendo essere informato di tutto ciò, non si fa soggetto ad alcuna perturbatione, ma con la piena confidenza che hà nel Signore, si mostra superiore, e più forte ad ogni contrarietà, che alla fine dovranno cessare e dissiparsi. Non lasciarlo di riferire a V.E. che si pensa di non dar latte al principino, ma di farlo nutrire con altro alimento alla mano come sin' hora si va facendo, essendo li medici persuasi con le M. M. sore medesime, che la perdita de' gl' altri figli sia provenuta dal latte delle nutrici, che habbi loro causate le convulsioni, onde ritrovandosi quà frequenti esempj, che molti tutti siano allevati, e creschino in buona constitutione senza latte, credono di dover' usare dello stesso modo nella nutrizione del Principe per assicurare maggiorm^{te} il di lui vivere. Pare nondimeno una cosa molto straordinaria, ed in questa parte, come in ogn' altra, si dovrà tutto ad una specialissima assistenza del Signore. Questa matina ho havuto l' honore di vederlo, mentre le davano l' alimento, che prendeva di buono gusto, e mi è parso sempre più ben complesso, e ben fatto; il detto alimento è chiamato Watter Gruell, ed è composto di farina di avena, aqua, e zuccaro, aggiogendovisi alle volte qualche poco di una passa di Corinte.

Questa matina hanno dato principio le sessioni giuditiali, e sono stati condotti li vescovi prigionj dalla torre alla gran sala di Westminster avanti il tribunale chiamato Kings Bainch, cioè banco del Rè; havevano seco quattro de' primi avvocati, li quali hanno arringato in favore loro, apponendo in p^o luogo la nullità dell' ordine con cui sono stati mandati alla torre, per difetto di alcune formalità necessarie, ed in secondo luogo hanno opposta l' incompetenza dello stesso tribunale, li quali due ponti doppo lunghe contestationi, sono stati risolti contro de' vescovi, che in fine hanno data cautione di dover comparire hoggi quindici il med^o tribunale, accioche sia discusso l' affare principale per cui vengono chiamati in giudizio, il che fatto sono stati posti in libertà di andare alle case loro. E stato da notarsi, che essendo concorsa un immensità di popolo per vedere la fontione, nel portarsi li vescovi dalla barcea alla detta sala, la maggior parte si metteva in ginocchio augurando loro felicità, e benedittioni; e l' Arcivescovo di Canterburi andava mettend^o la mano in

capo à quelli, che se l' offerivano nel passaggio, con dire che stano fermi nelle fede, gridando ogn' uno ad alta voce di doversi inginocchiare, ed vedendoci in molte le lagrime grondate dagli occhi in tal' occasione.

2 Luglio, 1688.

S. M. m' ha detto li giorni passati che lo scrivevano d' Olanda, che vi fossero indititi forti, che il Principe d' Oranges meditasse attualm^{te} di porre in esecuzione li suoi perversi disegni col pretesto di religione havendo in mira questa parte, io gl' hò risposto, che speravo che quando fosse gionta colà la nuova della nascita del Principe di Gales farebbe mutar linguaggio, e si dissiperebbero tosto le machine de gl' inimici di fuora, come il simile seguirebbe di quelli dentro del regno, ed havendo S. M. fatto il conto, che con le prime lettere se ne poteva ricever il riscontro, mi ha poi detto in appresso al loro arrivo, di esser avisata, che fossero in Olanda rimasta sul colpo doppi^{te} nell' udire la detta gran nuova, e di sapere che si trovassero pronti venti, e più vascelli di guerra alle Dune, il che non havevano mai creduto, che fosse per seguire, ne con tanta sollecitudine. Milord Sunderland m' aveva significato più apert^{te} che il Principe d' Oranges avesse dato ordine alla brigada di questa natione, che tuttavia si ritrova in quel servitio, che dovesse star pronta alla marcia, il che s' interpretava con diret^{te} à questa volta, havendosi fundamento di credere che quà vi siano intelligenze tali da poter cooperare al sud effetto, anzi sollecitarlo; abbenche per altro sia difficile, che il Principe senza un pieno concorso delli Stati potesse o si mettesse in positura di voler intraprendere un impegno così grande, e fuora di ogni ordine, e pare difficiliss^{te} di credere, che li Stati med^{ti} si inducessero ad abbracciar lo senza riflettere ad altro, che alla smisurata ambitione del Principe, e che tutta la terra si unirebbe contro di loro, e sopra tutto è da sperarsi nella speciale assistenza del Signore, che si fa visibile nelle sue benedizioni à questo Rè così zelante, e così pio.

9 Luglio, 1688.

Milord Sunderland hà eseguita la generosa e santa risoluzione di dichiararsi Cattolico, con la circostanza che S. M. med^{ta} entrata martedì dopo pranso nel consiglio di Cattolici hà voluto partecipare la buona nuova à quei Sig^{ti} accompagnandola con li espressioni del proprio contento, è di molta commendatione di Milord, il quale parlò poi in appresso con li sentimenti degni di lui, e dell' attione che faceva. La stessa sera S. M. mi fece l' honore di parteciparmelo abbon^{te} la singolare sodisfattione, e parte, che prendeva in un successo, che non puol risultare se non in gran vantaggio del servitio di Dio, e di quello di S. M. Già mi è stato riferito, che si discarra da molti trà li più fanatici nellà città sopra il ciò, con la riflessione, che il partito del Rè debba essere alla fine il più forte, e li suoi disegni siano ben assicurati alla vista di un tal personaggio, savio, prudente, ricco, ed informato di tutto, che nonostante di vedersi inaspriti gl' animi, si puol dire universal^{te} di tutti per l' affare di vescovi, e ogn' altra agitatione domestica, cioè, che non andando bene le cose siano persi li Cattolici, onde cavano argom^{ti} di credere, secondo la regola dell' interesse, essendone quà poc^{ti} altra, che questo si trovi sicuro nell' elezione del ditto partito.

Hoggi è il giorno destinato alla risoluzione del grand' affare di vescovi, se pure si potrà finir in una sola sessione discutendosi hora la causa. Non è credibile quanto habbi servito quest' occasione alli mal intentionati, per dilatare tra il popolo li impressioni di violenza, e far credere che se ne voglia direttamente alla loro religione, al che hanno coadjuvato li stessi vescovi sedotti non operando di suo proprio dettame, con tutte li dimostrazioni maggiori per eccitare la compassione da cui nasce poi l' ira nel volgo, col farsi credere martiri della fede.

S. M. mi hà parlato longamen^{te} una delle sere passate, facendomi vedere la necessità in cui si era trovato di far procedere contro li detti vescovi nel modo che è seguito, portando gl' essempli del fù Rè suo padre, e Rè fratello, che havevano ricevute pregiuditti nella propria autorità, che in finè havevano causata la morte lagrimevole al primo per la troppa indulgenza: che la M. S. aveva perdonati à tanti, che già era troppo, che egli conosceva la natione Inglese, la quale con le buone non si riduceva al suo dovere, e che ogni connivenza sarebbe stata attribuita à timore; conchiuse, che non operando nel modo riferito era perduto, usò di questa parola. Mercoledì 7 mi hà ancora parlato dello stesso affare dicendo della contumacia delli detti vescovi che in fine se ne pentirebbero, che l' Arciv^{to} di Cantorbera

veniva di farle presentare una supplica accioche volesse ordinare, che li registri originali del Palam^e che sono in Vestminster, si dovessero portare hoggi avanti li giudici per valersene alla propria difesa, che vuol dire contro di S. M., la quale gl' ha fatto dire che era libero ad ognuno di far tirare dalli detti registri gl' estratti che si volessero. Nonostante però questa contumacia e la giusta indignatione che ne deve essere nell' animo di S. M. per dover usare con essi l' ultimo del rigore, Milord Sunderland è di parere sempre con la mira al Parlamento, che è il negotio principale, senza di cui non si sarà mai fatto niente, che convenga seguita, che sia la sentenza perdonare alli detti vescovi ancorche essi non chiedano perdono, come egli è persuaso, ehe non lo dimanderanno per sempre più farsi popolari ed alienare gl' animi del Rè. Tutta la pena che sarà loro imposta, si vengono dichiarati colpevoli, la qual dichiarazione non aspetta di fare alli giudici, ma bensì a dodici persone elette espress^a a quest' effetto, che si chiamano Giuri, ed è una forma di giuditio, particolare credo alla sola Inghilterra, che possono ancor' esser corrotte, come S. M. mi hà detto, che si trovano depositate 2 mila lire sterline, si riduce ad una multa pecuniaria, con la condizione della prigionia sinche non sia pagata. La detta multa potrà essere anco di cento mila scudi per uno, e più, secondo l' arbitrio di giudici, onde non è dubbio che li detti vescovi dovranno per la legge restar prigionati sinche paghino la somma à cui verranno condannati, e con questo si aumenterà l' alienatione de gl' animi, ed essi goderanno di poter dare un tel spettacolo al popolo atto ad irritarlo maggiormente, onde sarà forzoso il dire, che non occorra più pensar à Parlamento, e le cose restino sempre in un incertezza, tanto riguardo allo stabilimento della religione, quanto alla tranquillità dello stato. Mi ha detto hiersera Milord d' haverne parlato à S. M. la quale a gustate li ragioni, ed haveva ordinato di raduna il cunsiglio à quest' effetto, che si è poi differito per vedersi prima qual sia la fin del giudicio, e prenderlo più aggiustate rissolutioni sopra il medesimo dettamente.

Il caso è hora di vedere l' esito di quello, che li detti giuri siano per fare trovandosi già radunati doppo agitata la causa, che è durata lo spacio circa nove hore, per dire il loro parere, che deve essere uniforme di tutti dodici, non dandoseli à mangiare, sinche non siano d' accorde, ed essendo hora ben tardi non si sa ancora quello, che siano per pronunciare stando alli sud' di dire, che siano, ò non siano colpevoli, come potrebbe anco succedere in questo caso per la seconda parte per un complemento d' iniquità. Intanto li giudici e li rei sono andati alle case loro, restando li giuri radunati per pronunciare il loro sentimento, e domani si dovrà vedere, e' pubblicare nel tribunal il risultato di questa gran contentione, in cui è stato necessario al fisco di provare, che li detti vescovi habbino data la petitione che li rende criminali à S. M., non admettendosi da essi il fatto, il che è riuscito strano, e difficile secondo queste leggi, non essendovi testimonii, che habbino visto presentarla, ed è convenuto à Milord Sunderland di comparire chiamato lui stesso in giudicio per informare di quello che era passato tra lui e li vescovi, prima che andassero da S. M. Il popolo hà fatte acclamazioni di giubilo alli vescovi nel uscire dalla sala del giuditio, e per le strade, dicendo ognuno che siano liberati, ed essendo hora di notte mi vien detto, che si veda qualche fuoco di allegrezza, persuasi che siano dichiarati innocenti, ò che li giuri debbono farlo, perche in fatti sin' hora non hanno ancora pronunciato.

16 Luglio, 1688.

Sabbato scorso 10 del corr^a fu il giorno in cui si fece vedere nel suo più chiaro prospecto il mal animo di questi heretici, che si lasciarono guidare intier^a dalla passione e dalla malitia celebrando la vittoria de vescovi, nel essere stati dichiarati innocenti dalli giuri, che stettero chiusi per deliberare tutta la notte antecedente, e publicatosi da giudici nelle forme solite radunati la mattina à quest' effetto nella gran sala di Westminster. Il Rè è stato pess^o servito in quest' affare, mentre si puol dire che nissuno di quelli, che vi havevano alcuna parte immediate, habbi ben adempito il suo debito; due di giudici stessi nell' agitarsi la causa si fecero conoscere parziale di vescovi, insinuando con la forma di parlare, in tal qual modo, alli giuri, la pretesa innocenza di medesimi; dal altra parte si deve ancora dire, che la causa in se stessa par le sottigliezze della lege haveva le sue difficoltà, le quali forai non son state bastant^o previste da chi ha sopra di se il peso di queste attioni legali, come l' Avvocato Generale ed altri, mentre l' accusatile è stata, che li vescovi haveessero composto, e pubblicato un libello seditioso per alienare l' amore

di sudditi verso di S. M., nel che vedendo contestato il fatto per altro notorio, con le qualità criminali del medesimo, era difficile di provare con evidenza la sottoscrizione de vescovi, e che havessero presentata la petitione al Rè, non vi essendo testimoni, che lo habbino visto, onde si rendeva anco più difficile di provare il disegno, ò l'effettiva publicat^a al sud^a mal fine; di maniera che con queste versutie legali, e poca cautela ò troppa confidenza per la parte di quelli del Rè, li vescovi sono stati dichiarati innocenti con gradi^e scandalosi de' buoni, e non minor biasimo di tutti quelli che sono andate negligenti ò malisiosi in quest' affare di sì grand' importanza. Il concorso à vedere la conclusione del giuditio è stato immenso, e pari sono stati li acclamazioni replicati al sentirla favorevole alli vescovi. Mi trovava con Milord Sunderland la stessa mattina, quando venne l' Avvocato Generale à rendergli conto del successo, e disse, che mai più à memoria d' huomini si era sentito un aplauso mescolato di voci, e lagrime di giubilo, egual à quelle che veniva egli di vedere in quest' occasione. La sera poi li fuochi per la città, il bere per le strade, con gridi alla salute de vescovi, e confusione de Cattolici, lo sparò d' instrumenti da fuoco e ogni altra dimostrazione di una furiosa allegrezza per tutta la notte, sono state cose indicibili, con l' accompagnam^{to} ancora in qualche luogo, come mi è stato riferito, di impietà pubbliche contra la N. S. religione, da qualche feccia di plebe, con altri eccessi.

Sua M. era andata al campo la mattina, e li fu spedito da Milord Sunderland un corriero con l' avviso dell' esito della causa, la M. S. ritorno la sera, ed al solito la viddi senza il minimo segno di turbatione, ma con l' accostumata serenità di volto propria alla sua grandezza d' animo superiore ad ogni accidente; mi son consolato ancora in vedere Milord Sunderland fare sol conto del successo, quanto ne richiede l' importanza, dividendo subito il modo più profitevole per divertire li pregiudicii che possono risultare da questo disordine, ed infervorarsi maggior^{mente} in relatione al negotio principale del Parlamento, che deve essere l' unico scopo e fine di S. M. di procurarlo favorevole, cui tanto quanto si può tutti gli incidenti per lo stabilimento di suoi santi disegni, e tranquillità del regno, e mettere una volta fine à tutte le agitatione e gelosie domestiche; in ordine à che si è tenuto consiglio di gabinetto da S. M. in cui mi ha dette Milord, che per il fatto particolare de vescovi si è di avocare la causa al tribunale della Commissione Ecclesiastica per il capo dell' inobbedienza non solo quanto a i vescovi, ma per tutti li ministri, che vi hanno havuta parte, nel che si andera temporeggiando per servirsi di questa strada, secondo che si giudicherà à proposito, e in tanto tenere un freno ad ognuno, sinche si veda quello che siano per fare nel Parlamento, si levaranno di carica li due giudici per mettervi un Cattolico, ed un Dissentista, e si farà lo stesso di alcuni altri, la di cui colpa è più apparente.

S. M. nel gran consiglio, che chiamano privato, spiegare li suoi reali senzi sopra le cause passate, confermando quelli di voler tanto maggior^{mente} insistere per il Parlamento senza dipartirsi un ponto dalla più intensa applicatione. Diceva Milord doversi questa rivolbere intier^{mente} ed eludere il perverso disegno degl' Anglicani, li quali prevalendosi della congiuntura, travagliano con tutto il potere per tirare nel suo partito li Nonconformisti, facendo loro grandi offerte di sicurezza, ed ogn' altra, che possa fargelo apprendere per più vantaggioso, ed in particolare studiano di imprimere loro, che li Cattolici pretendono di servirsi di essi sol tanto che possano conseguire li loro fini di abolire il Testò, ch' è l' argine più forte di difesa, che habbino, per poi exterminarli tutti Anglicani e Nonconformisti insieme, quando nel Parlamento vi possà essere una irruzione di Cattolici, e vedersi chiara l' intentione del Rè, che nella sussistenza del Testò med^{esimo}, non duol nascondere la violenza che viene di apparire contro di vescovi. Questi ed altri discorsi perniciosi sono capaci di sedurre quelli, che non si portano à concorrere ne' giusti sensi di S. M. per virtù, ne per debito, ma per solo proprio interesse, onde se crederanno, che questo corra alcun rischio e pericolo stando fermi nelle regie parti, ed al contrario resti assicurato per il mezzo degl' Anglicani, facilmente si lasciaranno persuadere à mutare d' intentione, ed in ordine al Parlamento, il Rè verrà à restar solo. Onde diceva Milord di doversi pensare ad espedienti, per non esporsi ad un irreparabile danno, il qual espediente doversi fondare nel proporre alli Nonconformisti qualche sorte di sicurezza per li sud^a riguardi, e se al presente non si poteva conseguir tutto il Parlamento come sarebbe desiderabile, non doversi perciò negliger di ottenere delle sei parti li cinque se si potesse per il solo principio di prefiggersi tutto ò niente, mentre sarà più facile, ottenute le cinque parti, havere

anco la testa col tempo, e con le cose quiete, che hore, che son turbate, persistere di volerle tutte sel senza apparenza di poterle conseguire, e restar sempre in un mare di confusione esposti al pericolo, che ad un accidente della morte del Rè, che Dio ci guardi, si veda una funesta desolat' di tutti li Cattolici con l' esterminio della religione quando si fa ogni studio per stabilirla. Dievæ dunque di haver proposta à S. M. nel consiglio, che si poteva sopra queste considerazioni contentarsi dell' abolitione delle leggi penali, e del Testò, che escludi li signori della Camera Alta, e lasciar in vigore gl' antichi giuramenti, che escludono li Cattolici della Camera Bassa, nel che li Nonconformisti potranno considerarvi la propria sicurezza, e concorrere per il rimanente nella proposizione di S. M., riducendosi la somma nel negotio, à vedere, se conosciuta l' impossibilità di attenersi tutto, come si verrebbe, convenga di applicare alla sud^a proposizione quando si possa far valere, alla vista del gran bene che risulterà dall' abbracciare la vera religione, alche si aggiunga l' entrata de sigⁱ Cattolici nella Camera Alta, la quale parebbe assicurata nel servizio di S. M. con l' evidenza, che nella buona intelligenza del Rè col sue Parlamento sarà per fortificarsi sempre più la rigia autorità per farlo valere, e dentro e fuora del regno, nel qual stato di cose sarà più facile al Rè di perfettionare l' opera, che hora d' intraprenderla. Proposto il suprad^a à S. M. con il concorso di ogni altri consiglieri; la M. S. vi ha fatta una riflessione, se dopo di haver dichiarato l' impegno di voler tutto dal Parlamento, le convenga di ritirarsi in parte dal medesimo, ponderando li pregiudicii risultati alli suoi antecessori dal cedere; al che ha risposto Milord con la disparità del caso, nell' avere quelli ceduto del proprio, ed hora trattarsi di far cedere à gl' altri, e contentarsi di meno di quello che si vorrebbe per l' impossibilità di ottenerlo; sopra di che S. M. non ha giudicato di dover risolvere, ma di doverlo considerare più matur'. Forsi la M. S. potè motivarmene qualche cosa, nel qual caso prego il Signore, che m' ispiri di dirlo quello che sarà del maggior servizio di sua Divina Maestà.

Horà la giustizia ord^a procede contro quelli, che hanno fatti fuochi nella passata congiuntura, che sono difesi senza ordine, o permis^a publica, li quali sarebbero ancor stati più copiosi, senza le diligenze usate dal Milord Maire per impedirli, abbenche non le sia riuscito in tutto secondo il desiderio, per non essere ben eseguite, ed essendo stato troppo universale il consenso di tutto il popolo ch' è stato poi più eccessivo nelle altre dimostrazioni, venendomi detto che si facevan fermar le genti per strada, e le carrozze, per obligar le persone à bere alla salute de' vescovi. Il simile si crede seguito in altra parte del regno, essendovi notitione di tali eccessi ne luoghi circonvicini di Londra.

Non lasciero di dire, che nel giuditio è stato somm^a scandaloso, che li avvocati de vescovi habbino declamato contro il potere dispensatorio del Rè, e similmente iniquo, che li giudici lo habbino permesso, essendo un ponto non solo totalm^a alieno dalla causa, e dalla inspezione presente, ma superiore ad ogni cognitione di particolari, onde era di loro dovere d' imporre silentio all' uiditezza di tali huomini, ne lasciarlo mettere in controversia, che puol essere pregiudizialissima nel concetto delli genti.

23 Luglio, 1688.

Li paterni zelantisⁱ sensi di N. signore in ordine alla diligente custodia del parto, che seguirebbe della Regina, e li clementisⁱ commandamenti dafimi sopra di ciò saranno da me eseguiti con l' insistenze più adottate che saprò secondo l' occasioni, essendo veram^a necessaria ogni circospezione in ogni tempo, ma molto più in questi, che piggiori non possono essere, accompagnati da circostanze che essigono tutta l' attenzione e diligenza possibile per garentirsi da quelli di mal^a intentionati, che vogliono incessant^a in oppositione di es^a disegni di S. M., ed hora, che la divina misericordia hà concesso un successore alla corona, per ch' raddoppijmo la forza della loro perverse machinationi, le quali alla fine dovranno cadere, e dissiparsi nella pretiosa servatque del gran bene dato da Dio à questi regni nel nuovo principe. In relatione di ciò parendomi, che l' accesso di poterlo vedere fosse troppo libero, e facile a qualunque persona, massime dopo li primi giorni, ne quali pareva necessaria una simil però circospetta libertà per le dicerie che corevanno seminate da' maligni, e facili di far impressione nelle genti già troppo disposte à lasciarsi ingannare e sedurre, ne hò insinuata l' importanza alla M. della Regina, che era entrata meco in discorso del principe, la quale m' hà rilevata la riflessione con la cautela di essersi fatto porre nella stanza del med^a come un

recinto, che vi è, ed impedisse l'accostargli, ma per l'avenire ancora si anderà più sobrio nel permettere ad ogn'uno l'introdursi. Anzi hò suggerito alla S.^{ta} M.^{te} di Poes governanta, di non lasciar entrar alcuno nella d^a stanza, ch'ella non lo sappi, ed in sua assenza sia cura della sotto governanta, essendo queste signore in particolare la prima di un gran zelo e virtù. Il che si è compiaciuta di ricevere in buona parte, col assicurarmi, che non dormiva li suoi sonni sempre rivolta col pensiero à ben adempire le sue parti per corrispondere alla confidenza, che hanno havuto in lei le M. M. loro, nell'appoggiare alla sua sollecitudine un peso di sì gran importanza. Questa sì sarebbe di sentimento, che si dovesse dare al fanciullo qualche poco di latte, dicendo, che sia il consueto di così usarne da tutti nella nutrizione, che si tiene con esso, e se n'è espressa meco anco alla presenza del principale medico, il quale è totalmente contraria à ciò, e suppone che ogni poco di latte li fosse pregiudizialissimo, le potesse causargli delle convulsioni, nel che conviene similmente la Regina, havuto sempre il riguardo alla perdita degl' altri figli, che vien attribuita alla sud^a caggione del latte. Ne in questa contrarietà de pareri si vede altro ricorso, che alla divina Provvidenza, la quale vorrà conservarlo in tutti li modi, e si degnarà d'inspirare quello, che sia per il meglio.

Vanno giungendo le notizie da tutte le parti dalle dimostrazioni singolari che in ogni luogo si fanno in redimento di grazie al Signor, e del contento delle nazioni Cattoliche, per il felice successo della nascita del Principe di Gales. Questo ambasciatore di Spagna dice, che la M. del Rè Cattolico hà ordinate simili dimostrazioni, come se fosse un successore alla sua corona. Di che queste M. si mostrano sensibili con l'aggradimento, e compiacenza, e con la riflessione di qua mi hanno detto, che *Nemo profeta in patria* replicando queste parole più volte. Similmente questo ambasciatore di Francia esagera il giubilo, e contento del suo Rè, in questa occasione, però la Regina m'ha detto con benigna confidenza, che gli era parso di fare una gran cosa in concedere ad un coll^e di Scorzeai, se ben mi ricordo, di cantar il *Te Deum*, con la ponderazione di non essere in costume di farsi in Parigi, che per la successione reale di Francia, o soggetti spettanti alla corona.

30 Luglio, 1688.

All'arrivo delle lettere d'Olanda S. M. mi hà detto, che il P.^o d'Oranges avesse fatto delle sue con bassezze indegne in argomento della sua mala volontà. Nel festeggiare, che ha fatto il ministro di S. M. all'Haya la nascita del P.^o di Gales, aveva preparati sontuosi rinfreschi, e convitati li signori principali della corte del P.^o, che gl'avevano promesso di andarvi, e poi poco prima della fontione havevan mandato à scusarsene; di più si erano fatte perdere nel hora appantata le trompette, ed altri instrumenti militari della guardia, che dovevano servire alla festa. Aggiunge poi S. M., che gli premeva molto più la rissoluzione imminente delli Stati Generali per le levè e trattenimento di none mila matellotti promossa da lungo tempo dal Rè, il quale finalmente lo haveva conseguito, e doversi credere che meditavano disegni cativi, e che quello che mi haveva detto più volte si andava maturando della liga di religione de' Principi heretici, onde conveniva di premunirsi, ed evitare tutte le dissensioni fra Cattolici, e che erano pregiudiziali⁴ le differenze della Francia, però con questa consideratione sperava che la S.^{ta} S.^{ta} vorrebbe usare di qualche condescendenza per terminarle. Io riposi, che ver⁴ per me non sapevo capire qual condescendenza si poteva desiderare di S.^{ta} S.^{ta}, quando le violenze erano continuate atrocissime dalla Francia senza alcun ombra di raggione, e la S.^{ta} S.^{ta} non haveva mai fatto, non faveva altro, che soffrire, e supplicar S. M. di considerare se dicevo il vero sì, ò no, onde bisognava risultarsi alla Francia perche volesse rientrare nel suo dovere, e far cessare un sì gran scandalo nella Cristianità. S. M. disse, che voleva parlarne di buona maniera all'ambasciatore: all' hora io replicai, che S. M. farebbe molto ben, e che era da quella parte che conveniva insistere fortemente; e mi diffusi in questo proposito quanto seppi dire, lodando insieme il ze loe la pietà della S. M.; la quale conchiuse, che ne parlerebbe, e che lo haveva fatta anco le altre volte sempre con fervore, ed efficacia: e con ciò resto facendo à V. E. profondi⁴ inchino.

6 Agosto, 1688.

Milord Sunderland si è portato per qualche giorno alla destinata villeggiature, e prima di partire mi ha detto, ch'era arrivato un espresso di Olanda con aviso che il Principe d'Oranges avesse fatto levare dalle preghiere, nelle

quali era stato posto, il nome del Principe di Gales, quasi che non si volesse da lui più considerarse per tale, cui è opinione con sufficienti indicii di credere, che egli sia pentito della missione fatta di un inviato in congratulatione della nascita. Queste stravaganze non è dubbio che siano fomentate di quà con quelle di mal' intentionati, molti di quali non lascian di dire ancora che sia un parto supposto, con altre stranezze di questa sorte inventate dalla più stolta malignità, la quale dovrà alla fine restare confusa, e depressa dall' heroica costanza del Rè, con l' assistenza del Signore.

20 Agosto, 1688.

Milord Sunderland fece ritorno venerdì scorso al tardi dal suo luogo di campagna, e poche hore dopo si portò à Richemond, di dove ritornato la mattina del sabbato mi ha detto confident', che d' Olanda veniva confermata la certezza, che il Principe d' Oranges, avesse fatto levare con ordine positivo dalle preghiere pubbliche il nome del Principe di Gales; onde S. M. aveva creduto di non poter dissimulare una dichiarazione così inqua, ed aveva perciò giudicato conveniente di scriverne alla Principessa sua figlia in termini di haver intesa questa scandalosa novità, pero volerne sapere il vero, e se vi fosse la persistenza di un simile attentato, che prenderebbe le misure proportionate alla qualità del negotio, con rissoluzione in primo luogo di comandare al suo ministro all' Haya di non trattar più con il Principe e la Principessa di Oranges. Con le ultime lettere poi di Olanda si è ricevuto avviso, che il Principe avesse fatto di nuovo rimottere nelle stesse preghiere il nome di questo di Gales, le quale mutazione non servendo il tempo per essere un effetto della riferita lettera, non si sa attribuire sin' hora, che ad una più sobria consideratione dell' impegno enorme che si prendeva, prodotta forse dalle vive representationi del ministro di S. M., il quale si attende quanto prima in questa corte, e potrà dare un conto più esatto in voce del vero stato di quelle cose. Intanto come non si crede questa rissoluzione del Principe d' Oranges per un argomento di essere migliorata la conditione della sua perversa volontà, dà luogo à riflettere, che sia più debole di quello che apparisca il fondamento à cui vengono oppoggiate le di lui machinationi, e che possa anco portare influenza uniformi di scapito nel partito che tiene in questo regno. Non lasciano di aggiungere venirmi assicurato da persona di credito, che scrivendo sovente la Principessa d' Oranges alla Regina, non le habbi mai nominato nelle lettere il Principe di Gales, che pare assai straordinario, e conferma sempre più l' opinione, che si deve avere, de' cattivi disegni da quella parte, mass' in ordine à questo particolare. Di più la stessa Principessa hà scritto alli vescovi che si trovavano prigionati alla torre, come mi è stato ricavarsi da una lettera intercetta del Vescovo di Heli, il quale à nome degl' altri le risponde con termini che fanno chiaramente vedere la seditiosa dipendenza del partito Anglicano.

27 Agosto, 1688.

E arrivato d' Olanda il marchese di Albeville, inviato di S. M., alla qual' hà partecipato in voce lo stato di quelli affari, e confermate le sicurezze che si hanno del mal' animo del Principe d' Oranges, e degli Olandesi. S. M. mi hà detto, che gli aveva fatta un empla relatione di tutto, aggiungendo che il Sig Dikwelt, che fù quà inviato del Principe sud' l' anno scorso, aveva detto all' Marchese d' Albeville medesimo, che stasse per sicuro, che in Olanda si farebbe tutto il possibile perchè la religione Cattolica non si stabilisse in Inghilterra, onde persi così fatte cose sempre più si accrescono nell' animo regio pieno di zelo, le essacerbationi, e l' irritamenti massime con l' apprensione presente che non facian seguito à tali dichiarazioni uniformi attentati nell' intraprese di fatto. Vanno giorgendo diversi inviati de' Principi per passare ufficii di congratulatione con queste M. M. sopra la nascita del Principe di Gales, oltre quelli di Francia, che sono di partenza, è arrivato il Principe di Bergles per parte del Gover^r de Fiandra, il Marchese della Rovere per quella di Genova, il Signore di Amilton per l' Elettore Palatino, li quali tutti si trovano hora impiegati nell' adempimento delle loro commissioni: e con ciò resto facendo lo profondissimo inchino.

3 7bre, 1688.

Vengono confermati con nuovi espressi d' Olanda gl' avvisi, che si affretti colà di armare con la maggior diligenza sino al riferito numero di cinquanta vascelli di

guerra con disposition' anco di accrescerlo. Onde S. M. che ha ragione di diffidare delle intenzioni del Principe d' Oranges e delli Stati, massime non cadendo sin hora sotto la cognitione altro soggetto per un sì grand armamento di mare in una stagione così avanzata, non lascia di ben premunirsi per ogni attentato che potesse venire da quella parte, e non rimaner sorpreso, ed hà perciò ordinato l' allestimento di altre dodeci grosse navi oltre li brulotti, havendo insieme comandati gl' ufficiali di portarsi alli loro regimenti, facendo ben guardare le piazze marittime più esposte all' invasione. Con tutto ciò che queste apparenze siano di dover temere, Milord Sunderland, con cui hò parlate più volte di queste insorgenze, non si sa persuadere, come li Stati Generali possino indursi in tale congiuntura à voler tutto sacrificare alla frenetica ambizione del Principe d' Oranges, e mettersi in un impegno da cui non sarà in mano loro in appresso di sortirne, e potrebbe alle fine riuscirlo funesto; perciò egli, doppo haver ben ponderata ogni cosa, spera che tali apparati non siano diretti per hora ad alcun hostilità, à far sbarco in questo regno, in maniera però che simil consideratione non debba raffreddare l' applicazione più diligente à precautionarsi, e mettersi in stato di ben difendersi, quando mai ne venga il caso. La M. S. hà similmente ordinato al Marchese d' Albeville di dover sollicitare il suo ritorno in Olanda, per poter ivi osservare più da vicino gl' andamenti di quel governo, ed assistere à quell' occorrenze in un tempo di tali aprensioni; conche hieri parti di quà verso Londra, di dove non tardava molto à proseguire il suo viaggio alla volta dell' Haya.

In conformità della risoluzione presa dal Rè di non voler convocare il Parlamento nel termine prefisso del mese di 9^{mo} prossim^o, deve hoggi la M. S. nel consiglio pieno dichiarare la sua mente, in cui segnerà anco il giorno preciso per la sessione: fatto questo si ingiongerà à tutti li governatori delle provincie, perche si trasferiscano alle loro pertinenze ad accendere al buono regolamento, per doversi procedere alle elezioni di membri, che hanno da comporre la Camera Bassa, da cui dovrà dipendere in gran parte il buon successo che speriamo. Milord Sunderland, che mi hà comunicato il soprad^o, è di parere, che nelle presenti aprensioni della Olanda, tanto più convenisse di chiamar hora il Parlamento, con la riflessione che li mali intentionati medⁱ, che possano haver intelligenza col Principe d' Oranges, torrebbero in sospenso le loro machinationi alla vista di un certo e vicino Parlamento, che il Signore faccia riuscir favorevole, dipendendo da questo, secondo l' humano discorso ed il nostro modo d' intendere, lo stabilimento della religione Catholica in questi regni, e la tranquillità dello stato nella buona unione del Rè e del Parlamento medⁱ, dal quale, levate le gelosie che hora vi sono, potrà promettersi ogni maggior assistenza di denaro, per supplire alla necessità della corona, e porsi in un stato qual deve essere un Rè grande per farsi considerare dentro e fuori del regno.

Sopra la stessa consideratione del Parlamento essendosi radunata la Commissione Ecclesiastica giovedì 28 che era il giorno prefisso per trattar il negotio degli officiali delle diocesi, che dovevano riferire il risultato delle loro diligenze, portando la nota di quelli che havevano ubidito nel leggere la dichiarazione della libertà di coscienza, e di quelli che havevano recusato di farla, comparvero alcuni di sudⁱ officiali ben disposti ad ubbidire, ed adussero scuse sopra il tempo per non haver adempite le loro incombenze; e perche si supponeva che la maggior parte di gl' altri, che non erano comparsi, volessero non obbedire, il tribunale venne in parere di accettare le scuse di quelli che le havevan portate, e farne godere il beneficio à tutti, prolungando il termine delle sudⁱ diligenze sino à 1^{mo} prossimo, per non esporsi ad un altro disordine come è stato quello di paeutio-vescovi in congiuntura intempestiva: mentre vi erano congetture fondate, che questi ministri heretici, se venivano compulsi col rigore, erano risoluti di opporre l' incompetenza e difetto di giudica autorità nel tribunal medⁱ, il che sarebbe stato accendere un fuoco maggiore del passato; onde per buona prudenza si è giudicato di volersi del ind^o espediente, e non intorbidare sempre più con nuovi incidenti le directione del futuro Parlamento.

Il Principe, Dio gratia, ha sempre continuato di bene in meglio, ed havendo recuperato il suo buon colore naturale, promette la più vigorosa consistenza di salute. Mi vien riferito che si attenda domani l' arrivo del Sig^o di Bonrepas intendente della marina di Francia, ch' è stato qu'à altre volte, e ne hà fatta prevenire hoggi la notizia, il che non lascerà di dar soggetto à molti discorsi, e ricanando quello della sua missione, ne darò riverentissime conto alla V. E., alla quale mi hò l' onore di accusare la ricevuta della sua benignissima lettera in data delli 3) Luglio, con

haver presentata alla M. della Regina quella che vi era mena: e con ciò facendo à V. E. profondissimo inchino.

10 7bre, 1688.

Ho ricevuti questa settimana di benignissimi spacci di V. E. in data delli 7 e 14 Agosto, con una lettera, e due cifre il primo, ed una lettera con un foglietto il secondo. Nel consiglio pieno di venerdì sorso la M. del Rè dichiarò la risoluzione presa di convocare il Parlamento à 9^{ma} pross^a, assegnando il giorno 27 S. V. dello stesso mese per la sessione, ed il dì 18 del corrente per mandare le lettere convocatorie nelle provincie al sud^e effetto. La M. S. mi parlò nella udienza della fiducia che aveva per la buona riuscita del med^e, fondata sopra la giustizia e modératione delle sue dimande, e sopra il credere, che li Nonconformisti non solo vi devono trovare il loro conto, ma che siano persuasi della sincera intentione della M. S. aliena dalle violenze, onde più facilmente siano per concorrere ne' suoi giusti disegni; concludendo però, che in ogni caso, che fossero resistenti e contumaci alla ragione, ed al dovere, verrebbe all' hora à giustificare avanti Dio, ed avanté gl' huomini, tanto la rettitudine delle sue insistenze per procurare il bene e la tranquillità di suoi regni, quanto le risoluzioni che sarà obligata di prendere coherentì ad una ripulsa. Milord Sunderland simil^e si è espresso meco in un discorso sopra di tal proposito, ch' aveva speranze fondate di un buon successo, quando il Rè facesse come non dubitava, dal suo canto, tutto quello che conveniva per promoverlo. In primo luogo verrebbe che S. M. parlasse à questi principali heretici che sono nella corte, in tal maniero, che non sola habbino à concorrere passivamente ne' suoi reali sensi, ma facendo loro comprendere, con la sua volontà determinata, la giustizia e ragione volezza delli med^e, si risolvino di agire con zelo e fervore in questo riscontro, il che sarà atto à produrre sentimenti uniformi in quelli che sono di fuori. Altrimenti diceva, che si questi della corte se mostrano tepidi e dubbiosi, ne verrà un pess^e effetto, che gl' altri havevano motivo di adonbrarsi maggiormente, e credere che siano misteriose e non sincere le dimande regie, mentre quelli che si trovano nelle cariche, e sono à parte del governo, non si dichiarino apertamente di approvarlo. Di più diceva, che negli Parlamenti passati essendosi visto, che la Camera Alta aveva sempre fatto maggior rumore di quella di Comuni, conveniva al Rè di assicurarsene quanto più poteva, perciò sarebbe congruente di sciogliere un numero di soggetti capaci e fedeli, e farli Milordi, per aumentare il buon partito nella detta Camera, e ciò essere tanto più necessario, quanto ch' era da temersi, che potessero far nascere tanti incidenti, senza il negotio, principale, abbenche questo paresse loro giusto, come sopra l' armata, sopra la prerogativa di dispensare le leggi, ed altri simili ponti, che venendovi una volta in tali contestationi, vi era pericolo di non uscire senza dover sciogliere il Parlamento, ed eludere in questo modo tutti li disegni di S. M., onde conveniva di prevenire, ad assodare potendosi la pluralità de' voti; concludendo, che la M. S. era disposta di mettere in esecuzione tutto il soprad^e, con il di più che anderanno suggerendo le congiunture nell' avvicinarsi al tempo della session.

4 8bre, 1688.

E gionto hieri un espresso d' Olanda con avviso, che restassero di già imbarcati in Rotterdam due reggimenti di fanteria sopra la flotta Olandese seguitando gl' altri à far il med^e, e che si fossero nolleggiate tutte le imbarcationi possibili per caricarle di altrezzi necessarii a far nn sbarco con cavalli, ed altre simili provisioni, che facendosi il distaccamento sud^e dal grosso dell' armata, per andare ad imbarcarsi, fosse accompagnato con gridi di alegrezza verso l' Inghilterra, e che tutti questi ribelli, che si trovano colà rifuggiati, si mettessero all' ordine facendo provisioni militari; tutto ciò mi lo disse hiersera S. M. con una maniera però di parlare così tranquillo e superiore, che non si puol spiegare abbastanza, dicendo che li giorni passati ver^e era stato con un poco di fastidio, ma che hora stava con l' animo quieto, havendo già dati gl' ordini alle sue truppe di quello che dovessero fare.

Trovandomi sabbato sera 18 del cor^e nella camera dove si trattengono le MM^{te} loro doppo di haver cenato, mi tirò il Rè in disparte, dicendo, che veniva di ricevere le lettere d' Olanda, le quali portavano, che il Pensionario Fagel parlasse molto atto, e con sensi pieni d' ardore, nelle corrente emergenze, al qual proposito raccontò una riflessione fatta da un vescovo di Ruremonda, che era stato Vicario Apostolico in Olanda, sopra la persona del fu Pensionario Whajt, il quale simil^e in quei

tempi si spiegasse in simili concetti superbi di non haver più che temere, ma che al capo di un anno, con le rivoluzioni domestiche che seguirono, fec' il tragico fine ch' è noto. Disse S. M. di haver notizia che il S. Campricht, ministro del Imperatore all' Haya, fosse entrato in discorso col detto S. Fagel sopra l' armamento che si faceva così grande, con eccitarlo in qualche modo a spiegarsi se vi era alcuno pensiero verso dell' Inghilterra, e che il detto Fagel si mostrasse ben imbarazzato nel rispondere, dal che cavava argomento la M. S. che vi potesse essere tuttavia qualche occulto disegno sul tapeto, quando le risposte di tal ministro indicavano l' animo turbato e non sincero; onde credeva necessario di dover ben certificarsi della verità del seguito nel detto congresso frà il S. Campricht e Fagel, e mi faceva istanza di fare ancora le mie diligenze al sud' effetto di saperne il vero; al che essendomi mostrato pronto di ubbidire nel modo che havessi saputo e potuto, proseguì la M. S. in riferire lo studio ch' aveva usato quest' ambasciatore d' Olanda per assicurarla che fossero ottimi, e sincere, e piene di rispetto, le intenzione delle Stati verso della M. S., e che l' armamento suo non fosse che ad oggetto puramente difensivo, considerate di prima le dissensioni con la Danimarca, e poi aumentate le giuste gelosie dalla condotta e minacce della Francia, e trattamento rigoroso in ordine al commercio che si usava con i loro sudditi, il che aveva anco dato ragionevole motivo alli medesimi Stati di portarsi a prohibire, come intendevano di fare, tutti li generi e manifatture della Francia stessa. Nonostante queste abbondanti significazioni, diceva S. M. di haver fatta riflessione, che il detto ambasciatore replicasse nel suo discorso affettatamente molte volte, che lui ambasciatore non avesse mai inteso nelle conferenze tenute nel tempo del suo soggiorno in Olanda, motivarsi alcun ombra di direzione contro di questo regno, il qual modo di dire, che poteva contenere sensi ambigui, non rendeva interamente appagato l' animo della M. S., abbenche il naturale dello stesso ambasciatore non dia molto a sospettare per questo lato. Disse la M. S. di essersi spiegata col detto ambasciatore di non approvare la dichiarazione fatta dalli Francesi alli Stati in ordine a ciò, che la riguarda seguita senza suo consenso o partecipazione, e che dovessero considerare che egli sapeva di essere il Rè d' Inghilterra, ma non poteva perciò impedire che il Rè di Francia desse tali ordini alli suoi ministri che più le piacessero. Esser bensì nell' arbitrio degli Stati di obbligarlo a prevalersi delle offerte della Francia stessa, che sin' hora non aveva accettate, desiderando di conservare la pace, purché gli altri ancora convenissero nelli medesimi dettamenti. Disse poi che le diligenze sopra la più volte referita lega di religione si andavano pressando essendone il promotore il Principe d' Oranges, al qual effetto si sollecitava hora il Rè di Danimarca ad entrarvi. Passando poi il discorso sopra le mosse de' Francesi, conchiuse, che non credeva ancora che fossero li primi a rompere la guerra ed intraprendere. Io risposi a quest' ultimo, che non si dubitava che il gran zelo a prudenza della M. S. non se impiegassero, quanto si poteva, a fare un argine favorevole alla tranquillità publica, contribuendo sempre molto il fare in maniera che la Francia non avesse a lusingarsi di poter contare sopra l' attaccamento o più tosto dipendenza di questa corona da suoi voleri inordinati: e quanto alla lega di religione, non si poteva negare che si pareva difficile, che la constitutione presente delle cose potesse dare modo alli Principi heretici di Germania con il concorso anco dagl' Olandesi, d' intraprendere un impegno di questa sorta, come nella deduzione de particolari è assai chiaro di riconoscere, senza però lasciar di stare con la più cautelata attenzione per rompere un disegno così empio, quando m' apparisse alcun ombra, e la M. S. disse che non lasciava di vedervi le sue difficoltà. Queste notizie le vengono date principalmente dal suo ministro all' Haya, sopra il di cui spirito sento che la Francia habbi assai forti le influenze. La sera seguita dell' 19 doppo l' arrivo delle lettere di Francia essendomi incontrato con Milord Sunderland, mi disse che il Rè desiderava di parlarmi quella stessa sera, onde mi portai ad attendere che la M. S. finisse di cenare. Il che fatto, nel vedermi mi condusse in un'altra stanza della Regina con dire, che veniva d' intendere con le lettere di Parigi, che si fosse spedito da quella corte un ufficiale al Marchese di Castagnaga, Governatore de' Paesi Bassi, per fargli la medesima, o simile dichiarazione, di già fatta in Olanda in ordine alla M. S., che però non essendo questo sua intenzione come nemmeno lo era stato l' altra, lo sentina con molto dispiacere aumentato ancora dalla riflessione, che il Rè di Spagna potesse mai credere che fosse caduto nel pensiero della M. S., che esso Rè Cattolico sia capace di promuovere o consentire nell' attentate degli Olandesi, quando havessero in animo di eseguirlo contro della sua corona, onde non tro-

xandosi quà l' ambasciatore di Spagna, che si era trasferito à Londra, desiderava che io gli facessi sapere questi suoi sensi in tempo che per il lunedì seguente potesse subito scriverne al Governatore di Fiandra, acciò non si mettesse il alcuna iniquitudine per la sudetta dichiarazione, conchiudendo che Milord Sunderland mi avrebbe comunicato più precisamente il tenore della stessa dichiarazione, con tutto il di più concernante à questo negotio. Io mostrai la prontezza dovuta in confortarmi alli comandamenti della M. S. in una cosa mass' in cui si agiva del suo particolar servitio, e che risultava grandemente al publico vantaggio, lodando insieme la sua grande prudenza in non lasciarsi sorprendere dagl' artificii pericolosi, che le venivano intentati con ponderarne il pregiudizio. La M. S. continuò in espressioni di sentimento con dire di essere stata posta in egual paragone del S. Cardinale di Furstemberg, e che il Rè di Francia si era ordito un gran male à se stesso ed alla maestà S. insieme in questo fatto, e che doppo la morte del Cancelliere Tellier si erano fatti de' gran passi falsi in quel consiglio, con simili a lori concetti che indicavano quanto habbi sentito al vivo un simil successo.

Viddi in apresso Milord Sunderland con cui essendo all' hora molto tardi, si resto in concerto di rimettere il parlarne alla mattina, come in fatti fui à ritrovarlo alla sua casa ad hora comoda, essendo però egli ancor il letto. In primo luogo mi lesse la lettera del S. Skelton di Parigi, nella quale dava parte, che si era spedito con diligenza un tal' à Brusselles con ordine d' intimare al S. Marchese di Castagnaga, che essendo li Spagnoli si strettamente aleati con gl' Olandesi, quando questi si portassero à fare alcun atto di hostilità contro l' Ighilterra, b' la facessero contro le pretensioni del S. Cardinale di Furstemberg, si dichiarava la guerra alla Spagna. Doppo letto, Milord ponderò la stravaganza di tal modo di agire, ed insieme quella del ministro di S. M. che si era lasciato sedurre sino à questo ponto, però, che non conveniva di richiamarlo. Intanto esser necessario, che li Spagnoli fossero informati della verità del fatto, come rispetto dagl' Olandesi se ne era di già spiegato il tenore à questo ambasciatore d' Olanda. Diceva, che finalmente si vedrebbe, se vi fosse la stretta aleanza con la Francia come si pubblicava, e che questo incidente servirebbe almeno à rettificare le intenzioni e la condotta di questa corte, che si voleva mantenere lontana da tutti quegli' impegni, che potessero pregiudicare sì nel suo particolare, come alla rissoluzione costante, che quà si aveva, di promuovere il ben publico, e non di intorbidarlo. Io non lasciai di commendare questi buoni sentimenti, e ponderarle il vantaggio, col levarsi le gelosie tanto radicate e visibili dalla nazione, el col mantenere ed accrescere la stima ed autorità regia in ogni parte, per essere sempre in stato di farla valere à publico beneficio.

Passo poi Milord al discorso delle cose del Parlamento, e della speranza che haveva del buon esito del medesimo, havendo la M. S. già parlato à questi principali Anglicani della corte nel modo che haveva prima rissolto di voler fare, li quali tutti si erano espressi non solo di approvare li giusti disegni della M. S., ma di volerli promuovere con ogni loro potere; e che li medesimi se ne erano spiegati abbondantemente con lui Milord in maniera che ni sia rimasto contanto, nominando particolarmente Milord Darmuth, ch' è il più tenace Anglicano, Milord Faversham, Milord Churcel, Milord Godolphin, li quali diceva, che si mostravano desiderosi di voler attempire con vigore le loro parti per il buon successo dello stesso Parlamento. Nondimeno, che questo così sia, si sente da ogni parte, che l' animo della gente si mostri sempre più inasprito contro li Cattolici, e à traversare li santi disegni di S. M., onde si deve ricorrere special assistenza del Signore per che voglia proteggerli e secondarli, in così gran congiuntura, à sua maggior gloria.

Prima di portarmi da Milord Sunderland havevo havuto notizia che l' ambasciatore di Spagna fosse per venire da Londra la stessa mattina, come in fatti arrivò poco doppo di essermi partito da Milord, ed essendogli andato alla corte, le sopravvenne immediatamente un espresso di Fiandra con lettere di Vienna, che portavano la felice nuova dell' acquisto di Belgrado seguito per assalto il dì 6 del corrente mese, di che subitone diede la notizia à S. M. nel ritornare, che faceva dalla messa alle sue stanze, e la riceve con sommo giubilo, del quale se ne riempì tutta la corte. Nella stessa occasione la M. S. le parlò di tutto quello che concernava il suo particolare, onde non habbi occasione di far seco altro parte, mi hà bensì egli comunicato doppo, che S. M. si mostrasse sensibilissima dal successo, e che ne la dichiarazione fatta in Olanda gl' dispiaciuta, quella seguita in Bruselles lo era in sommo grado, dicendo queste parole con ardenze, come far questo al Rè di Spagna al quale sono tanto obligato e che amo tanto, e replicasse più volte simile espressione.

Mercordì sera essendo ritornato Milord Sunderland da Londra, dove era stato il giorno prima per affari in ordine al Parlamento, mi ha detto di passaggio, che veniva di sentire dal Rè, che l'ambasciatore di Francia in audienza havuta il giorno, l'avesse pressato fortissimamente accioche S. M. non volesse richiamare il Signor Skelton di Parigi, ma che la M. S. era stata costante nella sua risoluzione, sopra di che mi haverebbe parlato più a lungo il giorno seguente, che fu hieri, ma non vi è stato il luogo per esser l'aponto. Hieri venuto l'avviso della morte di Milord Spenser suo primogenito seguita in Parigi, il quale nondimeno tenendo un modo di vivere assai sregolato, e contrario alli buoni sentimenti del padre, farà probilmente che il dolore della perdita non sarà così costante, che non sia più facile alla sua prudenza di superarne gl'impulsi.

La M. della Regina dopo di haver preso un poco di medicamento per presunzione li giorni passati, si è trovata in appreso con qualche incommodo di colica, di cui, Dio gratia, ne rimase in breve tempo libera, ed ora si porta benissimo, come fa similmente il Principe: e con ciò resto facendo a V. E. prof^{to} inchino.

Vindsor, 24 7^{bre}, 1688.

ADDA.

8 8bre, 1688.

Diceva S. M. che si pubblicasse in Olanda, che hora era il tempo di dare un grande colpo alla religione Cattolica, mentre il Rè di Francia era divertito in altre parte, aggiungeva che havessero truppe di Svetia, Brandeburgo, la Scotia, e di tal effetto dalla liga de' Protestanti sollecitata da toto tempo dal Principe d'Oranges, che colà apprendessero questa cavalleria, di che S. M. ci compiacceva, dicendo, che havevasse ragione perche era ottima, ed haverebbe 5 mille cavalli effettivi, sempre più hò riconosciuto nel discorso di S. M., ed ammirata la grandezza dell'animo suo veremente heroico, e superiore à tutti gl'avvenimenti.

15 8bre, 1688.

Sopra la consideratione delle corri emergende piene di timor, e della facilità che vi potesse essere di condescendere alle dimande che fossero per fare questi pseudo-vescovi, che videndosi richercati non lascierebbero di prevalersi dell'occasione creduta à loro favorevole, dal che ne potesse poi risultare alcun pregiudizio alla religione Cattolica, ne ho tenuto proposito con Milord Sunderland replicar^e, il quale mostra una somma aprensione dello stato pericoloso in cui se è, e crede necessaris^e di dover cedere qualche cosa per non perder tutto, e poi con la Regina, con haver loro detto tutto quello ch' hò saputo, accioche il zelo dell'honore di Dio avesse il primo luogo nelle deliberationi che si prendevano, non per alcun dubbio che il Rè e li buoni consiglieri fossero mai per indursi à fare alcuna cosa contro il med^e di animo deliberato, ma per il pericolo di essere sorpresi dall'altrui malitia, ch' usarebbe di tutti gl'artificii possibili per machinare contro la religione e l'autorità regia, perciò ogni cautela maggiore esser più necessaria per evitarli. La Regina in particolare con il suo solito zelo mi disse, che ne haveva già parlato al Rè, e che non parlerebbe ancora, non dubitando però mai che facesse alcun passo ne pericolo ne grande contro la propria coscienza e dovere; e di più, che haveva parlato ad alcuni principali Anglicani, cho sono nella corte, accioche dovessero consigliare li vescovi medesimi à non far domande fuora d'ordine perche non le haverebbero mai ottenute. Disse che havevano risoluto di presentare con la maggior sommissione in scritto le stesse dimande à S. M. osservata però da esse la conditione di un secreto inviolabile, accioche non si sapesse quello che domandavano, ne quello che venisse loro ricusato, rimettendosi in tutto alla M. S., il che pare un argomento di dover credere in essi qualche spirito di moderatione.

29 8bre, 1688.

Lord Darmuth che commanda hora la flota, sino dal tempo della rebellione di Monmuth, che si doveva temere molto più il Principe d'Oranges, e bisognava ben guardarsene, che si sarebbe lasciato portare dalla frenesia di voler regnare, havendolo ben mostrato nel tempo che si trattava della sua esclusione nel Parlamento, ma che non haveva mai creduto che fosse capace di un attione così enorme come questa che intraprendeva. Disse, che mettendo il piede à terra il Principe non haverebbe voluto mai la M. S. sentir parlare di alcun accordo, benché vi fossero nel Vaithal, de' quelli che havevano gl'affari in mano, à quali girava il capo ripetendo più volte, ed erano di contrario parere; ma che era Rè e gentili-

uomo insieme pronto a morir mille volte, più tosto che fare una indignità, che vedendo alcuna proposizione del Principe, la prima volta haverebbe rimandato che la portasse, e la seconda l' haverebbe fatto appicare, e risposto col cannone, proseguendo con grand' accensione ed vehemenza in altri simili espressione. Disse poi che leggeva nella istorie d' Inghilterra due successi, ne quali si potevano cavar insegnamenti per il caso presente, e raccontò à lungo il fine tragico di due Rè, sì ben mi souviene, Ricardo secondo, ed un Henrico, li quali sotto titolo d' accordo furono spogliati del regno e del vita, da suoi più stretti parenti, ed aggressori. Replicava con ardenza di temere quella del Vaithal più che li nemici di fuora, che lo havevano pressato à condescendere a molte cose contro sua voglia, ma che hora faceva ponto fisso, ripetendo più volte, che non rilasciarebbe più un atomo. Disse, che veniva de rendere alle città del regno le carte de' privilegi, come hà fatto à quella di Londra, ma che non era tanto quanto si credeva l' importanza di questa concessione, abbenche non lo dicesse, mentre nel passato regno, in cui si erano in parte levate, riusciva vantaggioso, per non esservi all' hora un essercito da tener il popoli in doveri, come aveva presentimente, però godeva, che la stimassero una gratia segnalata Disse, che non le paresca opportuno di chiamar in alcun modo hora un Parlamento, mentre sarebbe aponto un dar il modo al Principe d' Oranges di valersene contro la M. S., e similmente non giudicava di fare una convocazione particolare de' signori come le era stato proposto. Conchiudeva di confidare unicamente nel Signore che lo haveva assistato in tanti tribulationi passati, che non lo abbandonarebbe in questa congiuntura, e che haverebbe difesa la religione sino alla morte, con altri sensi simili pieni di zelo e di heroica fortezza. Disse di dover all' hora tenere un consiglio con gl' ufficiali generali, replicando in fine, che non rilasciarebbe più un ponto. Non lasciai di significare alla M. S. il grave sentimento che provarebbe S. Beat^{te} nell' intendere lo stato pericoloso di queste cose, con le continue sante orationi che offeriva al Signore per la prosperità della M. S. e de suoi più disegni, particolarmente sopra li riscontri che già haveva da altre parte delle attuali perverse intenzioni del Principe d' Oranges, con tutto il di più ch' hò saputo in simil congiuntura. Havendo in tal occasione rappresentato alla M. S. il mio desiderio di conformarmi alli suoi reali comandamenti con quello di poterle rendere alcun particolare benchè tenue servitio, S. M. detta qualche parola di benignità soggiunse, che dovevo stare vicino alla Regina, la quale sarebbe trattenuta quà sinche si riconoscesse che vi era sicurezza, e che si sarebbe fatto trasferire il Principe al Vaithal, per esser vicino alla madre; aggiungendo, che tutta questa guerra si faceva al Principe medesimo: se si prenderanno altre rissolutioni in ordine alla dimora dalla M. della Regina, ne darò riverentemente conto à V. E.

31 Genn. 1689.

Mi disse poi la Maesta sua che era gionto un paggio di Milord D' Arran con lettere d' Inghit^a, le quali portavano principalmente che si apprendesse dal Principe d' Oranges l' affare d' Irlanda più difficile che si era immaginato, destinando a quel' intrapresa un maggiore numero di truppe di prima, con la disposizione da farle ancora commendare dallo stesso Marechale di Schomberg; il che faceva credere alia M. S. che Milord Tyrconnel se fosse messo in un buon stato di difesa, benchè non avesse nuove à direttura da quella parte. Diceva esservi già più partiti in Londra, che li pseudo-vescovi con gli Anglicani nominandi alquanti Milordi principali, come il Duca di Somerset, il Conte di Nottingham, e quello de Pembroek, fossero per la M. S.; una gran parte de gl' altri siano per stabilire una republica, con titoli ed assegnamenti al P. d' Oranges uniformi à quelli che tieni in Olanda, altri per farlo Rè, altri per far Regina la Principessa, ed altri per dare ad ambidue l' autorità regia indist^a; ma la M. S. credeva, che si sarebbe venuto ad una di queste ultime dichiarat^e. Intanto la M. S. haveva fatto stendere una lettera diretta al Consiglio Privato del tenore dell' annessa traduzione, che mi dò l' onore di rimettere à V. E., con far pubblicare ancora di nuovo le ragioni che l' hanno indotta à sortire dal regno, e che haveva lasciate in Rochester prima di partire, sperando che possano fare una buona impressione nell' animo de' popoli. Disse, che li Spagnoli erano intieram^{te} negl' interessi del P. d' Oranges, e che il gov^o di Flandra haveva disegnato di fare una deputatione verso il medesimo, ma che il P. l' haveva ricusata, dicendo di non voler Cattolici hora presso di se. Parlò del pericolo, in cui diceva essere la religione universalmente per la lega de' Protestanti; li quali tenevano già le loro truppe ne' vescovati di Allemagna, e pre-

tendevano l'abbadia di Fulder con diffundersi long, in questo particolare; e conchiuse, che mi parlerebbe doppo che fosse stata à Versaglies.

CARTAS DE DON PEDRO RONQUILLO.

Londres, 12 de Ag^a, 1686. D. Pedro Ronquillo. R^a en 4 de Sep^o.

Como la posta de Espania se vino sin socorro ninguno, de una vez se retiro mi correspondiente de asistirme, reduciendome a la necesidad de abandonar la corte y venirme a encerrar en casa. Asimismo tiempo todas las cartas de alluera, y todas las indiligencias de adentro, me confirmavan en la gran fuerza que hacian a este Rey los Franceses y sue parciales para que rompiesen juntos guerra a los Olandeses. Embié mi familia a esta ciudad, y yo me detube en Windsor a seguir esta importante negociation: hallé que andava muy fuerte, y parte con quejas, y parte con promesas (que Dios y V. M. sabra si se compliran), apure todo el negociado, hasta tener copia del papel de razones que se proponjen a este Rey para el intento, y de que embio copia a V. M. creiendo que fuera de los que manejon el negocio no ha pasado a otra mano. Despues de esta y otras muchas diligencias huzgue por lo mejor que el ambassador de Olanda (que estava todo aturrido) fuere a hablar al Rey, con el pretexto de participarle las diligencias que hasian los disputados de los Estados Generales paraque tuviese efecto el destierro de los reveldes, y fue menester hacerle apuntamentos de la forma en que havia de introducir y hablar con este Rey en este negocio: y pareciendome que era el quien lo devia hacer, y no yo, respect de hallarse ministro de aquellos estados inmediatamente interesados, y mantenerme yo sin empeno, y reservarme yo para hablar en la materia si fuese necesario, siendo V. M. aliado de ambas potencias; pero no dexe de decir à algunos, quan indispensable seria a todos los principes interesados contra la exaltacion de Francia, sin nombrar a V. M. dexar de mantener a los Olandeses como necesarios para la conservacion de los respectivos dominios de cada principe.

Tubo su audiencia el ambassador de Olanda, y se vino luego, seg^a me dixo, al caso. S. M.^a Br^a monstro sentim^{to} parte en quanto a la detencion de los reveldes en aquellas provincias, pero admitiendo las satisfacciones honesto ofertas del ambassador para el remedio, y no haciendo tanto caudal de lo que levantan, suponiendo que se acomodarian aquellas differentias por expedientes. Le afirmo que ni tenia ni tendria empeno con Francia, y que solo havia entre ellos la disposicion de ajustamento del comercio de los vassalos reciprocos de la America, y señalamiento de confines en las tierras que confinan y posehian juntos; y que haviendome ofrecido que se prevendrian todos los inconvenientes que yo havia propuesto, assi acia la conservacion de los dominios de V. M. en la America, como el no estenderse mas el Rey de Francia, esperaba que yo le satisfacía de la firmeza de la que se ofrecia, y que el queria mantener las amistades que tenia con V. M. y con ellos por su propia conveniencia: que ademas de todo lo referido el no estava para hacer una guerra, assi por el caudal que le faltava, como por las dificultades que tenia, que es asegar dentro de su reyno; y que escriviere a sus amos que el dava su palabra R^a del cumplimiento de lo referido, y que yo no me dexare enganiar de los artificios de Franceses: que son las proprias palabras con que acabo este discurso, y haviendo tocado el punto de la religion y asegurado le Ziters que no se meselarian los Estados en esto. S. M.^a Br^a le dico que lo que havia obrado el Rey xristianissimo no havia sido ni como xmo ni como buen politico, y que entendia que era contra los preceptos de la Sagrada Scriptura, y que aunque se holgaria de ver que nostra sagrada religion fuere abrazada, no pensava en forcar a nadie la consciencia, y que solo pretendia que los Catholicos Ingleses no fuesen de peor calidad que los demes, ni tratados como traydores desposehidos de las libertades y franquezas que tienen los demas Ingleses.

No confesso este Rey que se le havian hecho proposiciones ni condiciones per parte de Francia, como es verdad, pero el papel solo contiene razones, pero confeso que havian hablado en la materia, diciendo que sus enemigos introducian estos discursos, y que no sólo eran los que andavan en el reyno, sino es muchos de los que asistian al circulo de la Reyna y a su aposento; que el los conocia, y que procuraria con el tpo manifestarlo, y conluyo exhortandole à que se aconsejase conmigo, y siguiese mi conducta: con que, gracias a Dios creoy que se tiene y-a la mas

eficaz prueba que se puede conseguir de la firmeza deste Rey contra las investidas y solicitudes de Franceses y afrancesados, pero no la bastante para dejar de estar con toda vigilancia, assi por la esperiencia que se tiene de que los Franceses no desistieran de reiterar sus artificios con el mejor pretexto, pues ban buuelto tan fuertemente a la carga, no obstante la negativa que se dia a Bonswreps; y tanto mas me parece que es esto necesario, quanto algunos de los Cat^l que andan en la corte son desta opinion, y deste partido, y aun quieren persuadirme que no atreviendose ningun ministro à mostrar al Rey las razones del Rey de Francia, se encargaron aun Catholico. Yo no lo afirmo à V. M., pero como otras veces le he representado, estamos muy poco obligados a los mas cortesanos destos, con los quales yo disimulo, y procuro grangear los para che siendo impracticable tanto por razones de la religion como de politica el alejarlos, es menester tomar el partido de atraerlos; y si alguna cosa me asegura g^a este Rey conoce los artificios de Francia que es lo mismo que desaprobarnos, es el que aora me comunican mas assi en la religion como en otras cosas que antes no lo hacian. Como no es gente versada en los negocios, y no tienen conocimiento ninguna de los intereses politicos, y de los principes, combiniara mucho para desenganarlos de su horror, hacer otro papel combenciendo las razones de los Franceses, y assentando la verdad de la contrarias y las ventajas que dellas resultaran a la religion à la union deste Rey con su reyno, y a las conveniencias de uno y otro; y aunque mucho desto esta ambencido con la mismas contradicciones que ayen el papel de los Franceses, y se bastantemente como assentar las contrarias con los fundamentos propios y particularidades deste reyno. Estoy tal que aun no se como escribo a V. M. estos renglones, pero si Dios me remedia con un poco de animo lo executare, y espero que con satisfacion y servicio de V. M. y este Rey, y convencimiento de estos seniores Catholicos.

Lo bolvi el Jueves a este ciudad por las razones que llevo referidas; no se quando bolvers a Windsor, porque no se si podre vencer a mi correspondiente a ello porque hasta à ora se mantiene en no assistirme, y toda mi familia alboratada y con razon, y yo sin saver que hacerme, porque ni tengo con que sustentarla ni con que despedirla. Juntase a esto el que estas diligencias que se han hecho piden algun rico-nocimiento, y almismo tpo me tiene traspasado et corason de que en mi avencia no se concluya el tratado de America; porque aunque como he dho a V. M. espero deshacerle, temo que si me aviento no encagen los afrancesados las artificiosas clausulas artificiales que havian descurrido, [y que S. M. Britannica me ha prometido que no consentira. Digo a V. M. que este ultimo golpe de haverme retirado de Windsor no solamente me ha postrado el animo sino la salud, y como ya la esperiencia ha ensenado que los achaques proceden destas pasiones, no tienen mas remedio, sino que V. M. se apiade de mi ascandome del y haviendome justicia.

Hanse parecido anticipar a V. M. estos avisos pues no dudo que le habran llegado de Olanda, y de todas partes el de estar hecho este tratado, pues aun desde Constantinopola escribe un mercader a su correspondiente aqui, que entre las razones que el embassador de Francia dio al Gran Visir para que no hiciese la paz y continuase la guerra contra el Emp^o, la principal fue asegurar que su amo y este Rey havian hecho liga para remper con Olanda, y esto lo prueba bien claram^{te} una de las razones del papel. Dios, etc.

Vino con carta de Don Pedro Ronquillo de 12 Agosto.

Que los agravios é injusticias que le han hecho los Olandeses, y à sus vasallos son insoportables, y que no hay apariencia de que hagan reparacion. Que han fomentado la ultima rebellion, y que dantodo asil a los rebeldes de S. Mg^a, y que en fin no podia jamas llegar aqui al fin de sus facciones, mientras no se destruya a esta republica; que no ha havido jamas una semejante coyuntura para destruirlos que la presente, en la qual se hallan empedradas contra los Turcos todas las fuerzas que pudieran socorrerlos, y que estan asegurados de buena parte que no haran los Turcos tan presto la paz. Que si deja pasar esta coyuntura se havan insolentes, tanto sus propios vasallos, como los Olandeses, y sera despreciado de toda la tierra; que las facciones y principalmente el partido de los de Orange se aumentaran tanto, que le continuiran a mudar sus resoluciones por lo que toca à religion y à su prerrogativa, y a poner en el Principe de Orange, como sucesor, casi el gobierno de todo; y queriendo dejar pasar esta ocasion desobligara al Rey de Francia y per-

dora su amistad que lo estan necesaria, y le hara recelar que se interese con sus enemigos: que por este medio obligara a este monarca a fomentar las facciones contra el Zaua, à traer a los Olandeses y al Principe de Orange contra el; que seran tan ruines que se dexaran persuadir a juntarse con ellos contra los Olandeses; que debe pedir dinero a su Parlamento para esta guerra, y decirle claramente que sino quiere darselo, que no debe estrañar que lo busque en casa de su vecina; que en caso que se le nieguen, debe estender su prerrogativa para sacar dinero, y que a demas el Rey de Francia le dara lo bastante que por esta guerra; el Rey se hara poderoso, y formidable; que si despues los Franceses quisiesen sacar demasiada ventaja desta asistencia, podra hallar el Rey bastantes medios para oponerseles, y despues de la destruccion de la Republica de Olanda tendra tiempo de reclamar los socorros de la augustissima casa que se holgara dello con mucho mas fruto para la religion Catholica. Que quando para establecer y confirmar aqui la religion Catholica sea menester hacerse en alguna manera dependiente de la Francia, y poner en manos deste monarca la decision de la sucesion de la corona, se hallara obligado a ello, porque sera mejor que sus vasallos veagan a serlo del Rey de Francia siendo Catholicos, que el queden como esclavos del dia, y no gozan desta grande libertad de que tanto abusan al presente; pero que no hay que aprehender que sevea nunca contringido de llevar a este punto; que esta guerra le dara un buen pretexto para continuar, y aumentar sus tropas; que sera bien de obrar abiertamente y sin disimulacion con el Parlamento y el pueblo, tanto en este negocio, como en todos los demas, à fin de no dar lugar à recelos ni miedos, y de convencerlos de su sinceridad, como tambien de su firmeza, y de su valor.

Londres, 26 di Mayo, 1687. Don Pedro Ronquillo. Recivida en 17 ed Junio.

Señor,

Los malcontentos no cesan de influir en Monsieur Diefeldt todo lo que pueden, para desconfiarle deste Rey. Y el siendo de su natural sospechoso, poco afecto à Catholicos, y harto desvanecido de su opinion y credito en su tierra, aprehende mas de lo que debiera. Mantienere siempre en lo principal que es de que este Rey no les hara la guerra, ni alterara ningun derecho del Principe y de la Princesa de Orange à la sucesion. Y despues de haverle moderado sus sospechas contra los Catholicos. Y pareciendo que quedaba con sosiego, menos en las adherencias con Francia, le encuentre el otro dia sumamente preocupado de la libertad de conciencia que tanto havia aplaudido, diciendo que personas de buena nota, y de la Iglesia Anglicana, le havian advertido que todo esto pararia en hacerse republica este reino despues de la muerte deste Rey, e que quanto esto estaba mas oculto le daba mas cuidado, particularmente haviendole un personaje Catholico insinuado esto como con amenaza: y que este era un cuidado que tocaba mas à los Estados que à nosotros, porque si esto succediere seria su ruina, y por la misma razon à nosotros no nos podia estar mal, respecto de que este reyno en republica dipenderia de España, y la de Olanda se perderia, con otras consideraciones en su imaginacion tan vivas y presentes como si este fuera así, y estuviera para succeder de un dia para otro. Yo mi holgue de hallarle en este aprehencion sin las demas, porque no me pudo negar que sero grande error tomar medidas para lo presente sobre suceso que estaba tan remoto, y que para llegarse à trastornar este gobierno era menester los años que se gastaron en tiempo del Rey padre, y que tomasen otros medios cuyo reparo no estuviere prevenido, y que no se huviesen servido dellas en las ultimas conspiraciones los republicanos; que yo no comprehendia como tan presto havia mudado de opinion, pues dies dias ha estaba muy contento de la libertad de conciencia, por ser los mas privilegiados en ella los Presbiterianos, que son de su mismo religion. Confesomelo así, y que eran tres Anglicanos los que le havian descubierto este secreto, y paro en que todo su recelo consistia en las adherencias que en esta corte tenian los Franceses.

A la noticia di los tres Anglicanos, que le parecia secretissima, y que por esto le causaba mayor cuidado, quedo un poco confuso quando le hicis evidencia deque no havia ningunos de aquella secta que no hiciesen publico este discurso; que la fastima. (a. su parecer) deque este Rey se huviese declarado tan resueltamente por la revocation del texto y los juramentos, y que no le huviesen podido reducir a lo

contrario, no se la discurría, porque era ya irremediable; que los mismos Anglicanos eran los que habían esforzado la resolución última de la libertad de conciencia, habiendo hecho tema y oposición en que desistiese el Rey del empeño contra el texto, y que el podía informarse, y aun haberlo experimentado, que nada establecía el respecto de S. M. Britannica como la constancia en sus resoluciones, y que quanto era mayor que la de su hermano y padre; si se rindiese á sus vasallos, le reducirían, sino al funesto paradero de Carlos primero su padre, al abatido de su hermano Carlos 2.^o; que el sabía que el Rey aborrecía á estos fanáticos, y se inclinaba á los Anglicanos, que son por la monarquía: que estos estaban en estado de componerse, pues el Rey convendría en quando pidiesen para su conservación, si ellos los correspondiesen con la revocación del texto, y que si el se fiaba tanto dellos los probase con esta proposición, y para que se asegurase de que no obstante las pesadumbres que le habían dado las cabezas de los Anglicanos, la inclinación del Rey era á ellos reparase en que habiendo podido deshacer este Parlamento y llamar otro donde fuesen elegidos los Presbiterianos, no solo no lo había hecho pero solicitaba actualmente con los presentes, y usaba de todos los medios posibles para reducirlos. Esto le sosego mucho, y aunque quiso introducirme en mas conversacion, lo escusé diciendo que yo no hablaba ya con el de buen gana, porque sospechaba que no me crehía; que se informase ser cierto lo que le había dicho, y que entonces yo le asistiría con el desahogo de que no me sospechaba.

Ha buuelto á estar conmigo reducido á ser cierto lo que le exprese, y por escusar á V. M. relaciones de prolijas conferencias me reduciré á la dicción, que es no dudar de ninguna manera mientras durare la vida del Rey, ni de la amistad con el Estado, ni de la firmeza en el cariño y sucesión de sus hijos, y que si se ofreciere aquí sedición el Principe y los Estados obrarian con todo empeño por el partido del Rey; que el Principe no acogeria á los que fuesen malcontentos á Olanda, pero que los que fuesen hechados por causa de ser Protestantes, era forzoso admitirlos, pues ellos aprobaban que el Rey hiciese lo mismo con los Catholicos, y quedo distinguido que no se tendrian por causa de religion los que se recogiesen á Olanda por haver recibido mortificación por haverse opuesto al Rey: á quien dije esto último, declarandole sinceramente que S. M. debía estar contento desta declaración, y que no persiguiendo S. M. á nadie por causa de religion, antes manteniendo firma la libertad de conciencia, no podía llegar el caso de la excepción de Diefeld, pero que si obrase lo contrario no podra quejarse de que los desterrados de aquí, como los Ugonotes de Francia, hallasen abrigo en los Estados y en el Principe; y que yo le prevenia esta noticia á S. M.^a, para que quando estuviese con Diefeld se aprovechase della, y no solamente aprobo pero me agradeció el consejo.

Es cierto que el punto de religion embarasa de una y otra parte, y que este ha de subministrar siempre recelos reciprocos, pero lo es tambien que manteniendose las cosas en este estado no se desuniran Inglaterra y Olanda, ni este Rey de con sus hijos, para la conservación de unos y otros, particularmente asegurada el Principe de Orange de todos los recelos de que su suegro le embarace la sucesión; y el y los Olandeses consideran tanto á este Rey que siempre procuraran tenerle contento, aunque los de Amsterdam no lo han mostrado en el caso de los oficiales, de que V. M. estará informado por la vía de Olanda.

Los recelos con la inteligencia con Francia se han moderado en mucha parte con lo que el Rey se ha declarado en la proposición de la garantía, de que doy cuenta á V. M.^a en otro despacho; y el mismo Diefeld me ha dicho que el Sabado lo participó este Rey el contenido de nuestras memorias con mucho agradecimiento, y satisfaccion de la augustissima casa, y que esperaba que Francia convendría en lo mismo, haviendole dicho Diefeld que no lo dudaba por muchas razones, pero que si la Francia lo contradijese era señal evidente de que pensaba hacer luego la guerra, y que el primer golpe caería sobre los Payes Bajos que estaban sin ninguna defensa, le respondio que si este caso llegase llamaria aquel mismo dia el Parlamento, estando cierto de que le dariau quanto dinero pidiese para hacer la guerra á Francia. Con que Diefeld ha ensanchado su animo, y ha escrito en muy buena forma al Principe y á los Estados, aunque picandole mucho la espina de la intimidad que hay entre el Conde de Sunderland y el embajador de Francia; no obstante ser aora motivo de discurso entre los cortesanos, lo que se familiariza con migo desde que estos dias pareció algun susto en su conservación, y desde que esta Reyna me muestra algun genero de agrado y satisfaccion.

Dicfeld no ira à Windsor, pero no sabe quando se bolbera à Olanda, aunque tiene licencia, porque este Rey le ha dicho que no se despida hasta que le haya hablado muy despacio en los negocios, y segun lo que S. M.^a me ha insinuado, no piensa acabarlos en una audiencia. Yo espero que Dicfeld me desiera aora mucho, y este Rey me muestra bastante agrado de la verdad y sinceridad con que le digo lo que entiendo, pues conoce que es interes de V. M. y suyo el que ambos corran en buena inteligencia con los Estados Generales; y esta representacion es lo que tengo que responder à tres despachos de V. M.^a con que me hallo que hablan desta maeria de 26 de Marzo, 21 de Abril, y 8 de Mayo, que acabo ne recibir en este instante: debiendo anadie que V. M. no dude que primero me faltara la vida que promueva cosa que ser contraria à nra sagrada religion, asi por ordenarmelo V. M. y por entender que en esto estriba el logro de lo que podemos esperar en este reyno en lo temporal, como porque gracias à Dios soy tan fino Catholico como Castellano. Dios, etc.

Nº II.

LETTERS OF SUNDERLAND, KIRKE, AND JEFFREYS.

Letter from Colonel Kirke to the Earl of Sunderland, dated at Taunton, August 12, 1685.

(From the Domestic Letters in his Majesty's State Paper Office, 1661 to 1685. Vol. I.)

My L^a,

Taunton, the 12th Aug. 1685.

I receiv'd this enclosed from the messenger yo^r L^{dy} sent hither to take Jones. I had advice last Sunday of some Rebelles, that had gott by the sea side, 20 milles from this place, and the Parson of that Parrish has some resor to believe ferguson among them. I sent a party of Dragounes thither, but have noe accounte yet. L^a Withers that command att Bridgewater, has taken severall Prissnions in the Mores. Sunday last he took 13 and a Cap^t; his name is Godfrey. My L^a Cornbours Troope of Dragounes marched yesterday to Welles from hence.

My L^a

Yo^r L^{dy} most humble

And obed^t sary^t

P. KIRKE.

Letter from Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys to the Earl of Sunderland, dated at Dorchester, Sept. 8. 1685.

Givz me leave (my dearest Lord) wth more impertunitie than ordinary, to begge yo^r Lordships patronage and protection in that station that (next to his Maj^{ty}) I will to Eternitie own to yo^r Lordships favour, and desire to continue noe longer in any condition than whilst I act my gratitude more than I can speak it. I heartily beseech y^r Lordship to tender my most humble duty and thankfullnesse to his Maj^{ty} for his most gracious thought of mee, and assure him I will to the utmost approve myself his most loyal and faithfull serv^t, and,

My dearest Lord

Yo^r Lordships most Entirely devoted

JEFFREYS.

Dorchester, 8th Sept. 1685.

From Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys to the Earl of Sunderland, dated at Dorchester, Sept. 10, 1685.

I most heartily rejoyce (my Dearest Dearest Lord) to heare of y^e safe returne to Winsor. I this day began wth the tryall of the Rebells at Dorchester, and have dispatched 96; but am at this tyme soe tortured wth the stone that I must begge yo^r Lordships intercession to his Maj^{ty} for the incoherencie of what I have adventured to give his Maj^{ty} the trouble of, and that I may give my selfe soe much ease by yo^r Lordships favour as to make use of my servants pen to give a relation of what has happened since I came here. My Dearest Lord, may I ever be tortured with the stone if I forget to approve myself

My Dearest Lord

Your most faithfully devoted Serv^t

JEFFREYS.

Dorchester, 10th Sept. 8 at night.

For Godsake make all excuses, and wthal be sure, a word of comfort.

The Earl of Sunderland to Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys.

My Lord,

Windsor, Sept. 14. 1685.

SINCE my last I have your Lo^{ds} of the 11th from Dorchester, which I have acquainted his Ma^{ty} with, who directs me to tell you that he approves intirely of all your proceedings, which you give an account of in your letter, and particularly of your having respited the two Prisoners, who accuse Mr. Prideaux; upon reading of whose confessions his Maj^{ty} has directed Mr. Prideaux to be apprehended, in order to his commitment to the Tower.

His Maj^{ty} commands me also to acquaint you that of such persons as you shall think qualified for transportation, he intends Sir Philip Howard should have 200, Sir Richard White 200, Sir W^m Booth, M^r James Kendall, M^r Niphoe, Sir W^m Stapleton, Sir Christopher Musgrave, and a Merchant (whose name I do not yet know) 100 each; and his Maj^{ty} would have your Lo^d accordingly give order for delivering the said numbers to the said persons respectively, or to such as they shall appoint to receive them, the said parties entering into security, that they will take care that the said Prisoners be forthwith transported to some of his Maj^{ty}s southerne Plantations; viz. Jamaica, Barbadoes, or any of the Leward Islands, in America, to be kept there for the space of ten years before they have their liberties; and that his Maj. and the country may be eased of the said prisoners as soon as possible, his Maj^{ty} has thought fit to let the above named persons know, that they are to take the said Prisoners off his hands within the space of ten days, after which they that have them respectively are to maintain them, his Maj^{ty} intending to be at no further charge about them, but for guarding them to the Ports where they are to be embarked.

I am,

My Lord,

Your Lo^{ds}, &c.

SUNDERLAND.

Prideaux is taken, and in the Tower. The Queen has asked a hundred more of the Rebells who are to be transported. As soon as I know for whom, you shall heare from me again.

Lord Jeffreys.

My Lord,

Windsor, Sept. 15, 1685.

I ACQUAINTED YOUR Lo^d, in mine of the 14th, how his Maj^{ty} is pleased to dispose of several of the convicted Rebells, who are designed for transportation, in pursuance whereof his Maj^{ty} commands me to signify his pleasure to you that you

give order for delivering to Sir Philip Howard, or such person as he shall appoint, 200 of the said prisoners, upon the conditions mentioned in my said Letter.

I am,

My Lord, &c.

Sunderland.

Like Letter for 200 to Sir Richard White.

100 — Sir W^m Booth.

100 — Mr. James Kendall.

100 — Mr. Niphoe.

100 — Sir W^m Stapleton.

100 — Sir Christopher Musgrave.

100 —

Letter from Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys to His Majesty King James II., dated at Taunton, Sept. 19, 1685.

I most humbly beseech yo^r Maj^{ty} to give mee leave to lay bould of this opportunity, by my Lord Churchill, to give your Maj^{ty} an account that I have this day finished what was necessary for yo^r Maj^{ty} service in this place; and begge leave that yo^r Maj^{ty} will be graciously pleased to lett me referre to my Lord Churchill for the particulars; for I have not as yet perfected my papers soe as to be able to doe it soe exactly as my duty to yo^r Maj^{ty} service requires. I received yo^r Maj^{ty} commands, by my Lord Sunderland, about the Rebels yo^r Maj^{ty} designes for transportation; but I beseech yo^r Maj^{ty} that I may inform you that each prisoner will be worth 10*l*., if not 15*l*. apiece; and, Sir, if y^e Maj^{ty} orders them as y^e have already designed, persons that have not suffered in the service will run away with the booty, and I am sure, Sir, yo^r Maj^{ty} will be continually perplexed with petitions for recompences for sufferers, as well as for rewards for servants. Sir, I hope yo^r Maj^{ty} will pardon this presumption. I know it is my duty to obey. I have only respited doing any thing, till I know your Royal pleasure is, they should have the men: for uppon my allegiance to y^e, Sir, I shall never trimme in my obedience to y^e comands in all things. Sir, had not yo^r Maj^{ty} beene please to declare y^e gracious intentions to them that served y^e in the soldiery, and also to the many distressed families ruined by this late Rebellion, I durst not have presumed to have given yo^r Maj^{ty} this trouble. Sir, I will, when I have the hon^r to kisse yo^r Maj^{ty} hands, humbly acquaint you with all matters yo^r Maj^{ty} hath been graciously pleased to entrust mee wth, and doubt not, Sir, but to be able to propose a way how to gratifie all such as yo^r Maj^{ty} shall be pleased to thinke deserving of it, wthout touching yo^r Excheq^r. I most humble thro my selfe at y^e Royall feete, for y^e pardon for this presumption, w^{ch} I was emboldened to by yo^r Maj^{ty} most gracious acceptance of my meane services. Sir, I begge leave to inclose some papers of the confessions and behaviour of those that were executed since my last. I purpose for Bristow on Munday, and thence to Wells; and shall not dare to trouble yo^r Maj^{ty} any further; except it be to beseech y^e, Royall pardon for all the mistakes, and crave leave heartily and humbly to assure y^e Maj^{ty} I had rather dye than omit any opportunity wherein I might approve my selfe,

Royal Sir,

Yo^r Maj^{ty} most dutifull

And obedient Subject and Serv^t,

JEFFREYS.

Taunton, 19 Sept.

Wade reserves himselfe till he attends yo^r Maj^{ty}. I have ordered him hence on Munday.

From Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys to the Earl of Sunderland, dated at Bristol, Sept. 22, 1685.

I am just now come (my most hono^{ble} Lord) from discharging my Duty to my sacred Master, in executing his commission in this his most factious City, for, my Lord, to be playne upon my true affection and honour to your Lordship, and my

allegiance and duty to my Royall Master, I thinke this City worse than Taunton ; but, my Good Lord, tho' harras'd with this dayes fateague, and now mortified with a Fitt of the Stone, I must begge leave to acquaint your Lordship, that I this day committed Mr. Mayor of this City, Sir W^m Hayman, and some of his Brethren, the Aldermen, for Kidnappers, and have sent my Tipstaffe for others equally concern'd in that villany : I therefore begge your Lordship will acquainte his Ma^{ty} that I humbly apprehend it infinitely for his service, that he be not surpriz'd into a pardon to any man, though he pretend much to Loyalty, till I have the Hon^{or} and Happiness I desire of kissing his Royall hand. The reasons of this, my humble request, are too many to be confined within the narrow compass of this paper ; but, my Deare Lord, I will pawns my Life, and that which is dearer to me, my Loyalty, that Taunton and Bristol, and the County of Somerset too, shall know their duty both to God and their King, before I leave them. I purpose to-morrow for Wells, and in a few dayes don't despair to perfect the Worke I was sent about, and if my Royall Master would be graciously pleased to think I have contributed any thing to his service, I am sure I have arrived to the height of my ambition. The particulars of Taunton I humbly referre to my Lord Churchill's Relation, who was upon the place. I have reced severall Letters signed by your Lordship for the disposall of the Convicts ; I shall certainly be obedient to his Ma^{ty} commands, tho' the Messengers seeme to me too impetuous for a hasty compliance, and now least (My Dearest Lord) should be afflicted by further trouble, as I am at this time by paine, I will only say that I am, and with all truth and sincerity ever will approve myselfe,

Your Lord^{sh} most Dutifull

Gratefull and faithfull, as I am your

Most obliged Serv^t,

(Signed) JEFFREYS.

Bristol, 22^d Sept. 1685.

ABSTRACT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LAND FORCES FOR ENGLAND AND WALES FOR 1685, AND OF THE ADDITIONS MADE IN THE THREE FOLLOWING YEARS.

ABSTRACT of the Establishment of the Land Forces for England and Wales, as fixed from 1st January, 1685:—

	Officers and Men.
14 Regiments of Cavalry - - - - -	5,505
2 Do. of Foot Guards - - - - -	2,564
10 Do. of Foot, and 16 Non-Regimented Companies - - - - -	10,640
Total	18,778

Abstract of additional Establishment for three following years:—

1686.

Officers and Men.

From 1 st January, a second Adjutant was added to the Foot Guards; and from 1 st March, a second Adjutant and a Chirurgion's Mate were added to the Royal Regiment of Foot - - - - -	3
From 1 st July, an addition was made to the Horse Guards of - - - - -	230

Total of Additions in 1686

242

1687.

NH.

1688.

Officers and Men.

From 1 st April, three new Regiments of Foot were ordered to be raised, to consist of - - - - -	2,226
From 1 st September, the following additions were made to the establishments:—	
To the Cavalry - - - - -	1,793
Foot Guards - - - - -	264
Regiments of Foot - - - - -	4,843

Total of additions in 1688

9,297

N° III.

THE INVITATION TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

June 30, 1688.

We have great satisfaction to find, by 35, and since, by Mons. Zuylistein, that your Highness is so ready and willing to give us such assistance as they have related to us. We have great reason to believe we shall be every day in a worse condition than we are, and less able to defend ourselves, and, therefore, we do earnestly wish we might be so happy as to find a remedy before it be too late for us to contribute to our own deliverance; but, although these be our wishes, yet we will by no means put your Highness into any expectations which may misguide your own councils in this matter; so that the best advice we can give is, to inform your Highness truly both of the state of things here at this time, and of the difficulties which appear to us. As to the first, the people are so generally dissatisfied with the present conduct of the government in relation to their religion, liberties, and properties (all which have been greatly invaded); and they are in such expectation of their prospects being daily worse, that your Highness may be assured there are nineteen parts of twenty of the people throughout the kingdom who are desirous of a change; and who, we believe, would willingly contribute to it, if they had such a protection to countenance their rising, as would secure them from being destroyed, before they could get to be in a posture able to defend themselves: it is no less certain, that much the greatest part of the nobility and gentry are as much dissatisfied, although it be not safe to speak to many of them beforehand; and there is no doubt but that some of the most considerable of them would venture themselves with your Highness at your first landing, whose interest would be able to draw great numbers to them, whenever they could protect them, and the raising and drawing men together; and, if such a strength could be landed as were able to defend itself and them, till they could be got together into some order, we make no question but that strength would quickly be increased to a number double to the army here, although their army should all remain firm to them; whereas we do, upon very good grounds, believe, that their army then would be very much divided among themselves; many of the officers being so discontented, that they continue in their service only for a subsistence (besides that some of their minds are known already): and very many of the common soldiers do daily show such an aversion to the Popish religion, that there is the greatest probability imaginable of great numbers of deserters which would come from them, should there be such an occasion; and amongst the seamen, it is almost certain that there is not one in ten who would do them any service in such a war. Besides all this, we do much doubt whether this present state of things will not yet be much changed to the worse, before another year, by a great alteration, which will, probably, be made both in the officers and soldiers of the army, and by such other changes as are not only to be expected from a packed parliament, but what the meeting of any parliament, in our present circumstances, may produce against those who will be looked upon as principal obstructors of their proceedings there; it being taken for granted, that, if things cannot then be carried to their wishes in a parliamentary way, other measures will be put in execution by more violent means; and, although such proceedings will then heighten the discontent, yet such courses will, probably, be taken at that time, as will prevent all possible means of relieving ourselves.

These considerations make us of opinion, that this is a season in which we may more probably contribute to our own safeties than hereafter (although we must own to your Highness there are some judgments differing from ours in this particular); in so much that, if the circumstances stand so with your Highness, that you believe you can get here time enough in a condition to give assistance this year sufficient for a relief under those circumstances which have been now represented, we who subscribe this will not fail to attend your Highness upon your landing, and to do all that lies in our power to prepare others to be in as much readiness as such an action is capable of, where there is so much danger in communicating an affair of such a nature, till it be near the time of its being made public.

But, as we have already told your Highness, we must also lay our difficulties before your Highness; which are, chiefly, that we know not what alarm your preparations for this expedition may give, or what notice it will be necessary for you to give to the states beforehand, by either of which means their intelligence or suspicions here may be such as may cause us to be secured before your landing; and we must presume to inform your Highness, that your compliment upon the birth of the child (which not one in a thousand here believes to be the Queen's) hath done you some injury; the false imposing of that upon the Princess and the nation being not only an infinite exasperation of people's minds here, but being certainly one of the chief causes upon which the declaration of your entering the kingdom in a hostile manner must be founded on your part, although many other reasons are to be given on ours. If, upon a due consideration of all these circumstances, your Highness shall think fit to venture upon the attempt, or, at least, to make such preparations for it as are necessary (which we wish you may), there must be no more time lost in letting us know your resolution concerning it, and in what time we may depend that all the preparations will be ready; as also whether your Highness does believe the preparations can be so managed as not to give them warning here, both to make them increase their force, and to secure those they shall suspect would join with you. We need not say any thing about ammunition, artillery, mortar-pieces, spare arms, &c., because, if you think fit to put any thing in execution, you will provide enough of these kinds, and will take care to bring some good engineers with you; and we have desired Mr. H. to consult you about all such matters, to whom we have communicated our thoughts in many particulars too tedious to have been written, and about which no certain resolutions can be taken till we have heard again from your Highness.

25.	24.	27.	29.	31.	35.	33.
Sh.	Dev.	Danby.	Lumley.	London.	Russel.	Sydney.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE'S FIRST DECLARATION.

It is both certain and evident to all men, that the public peace and happiness of any state or kingdom cannot be preserved where the laws, liberties, and customs established by the lawful authority in it are openly transgressed and annulled; more especially where the alteration of religion is endeavoured—and that a religion which is contrary to law is endeavoured to be introduced; upon which those who are most immediately concerned in it are indispensably bound to endeavour to preserve and maintain the established laws, liberties, and customs, and, above all, the religion and worship of God that is established among them; and to take such an effectual care that the inhabitants of the said state or kingdom may neither be deprived of their religion, nor of their civil rights; which is so much the more necessary, because the greatness and security both of kings, royal families, and of all such as are in authority, as well as the happiness of their subjects and people, depend in a most especial manner upon the exact observation and maintenance of these their laws, liberties, and customs. Upon these grounds it is that we cannot any longer forbear to declare, that, to our great regret, we see that those counsellors who have now the chief credit with the King, have overturned the religion, laws, and liberties of these realms, and subjected them in all things relating to their consciences, liberties, and properties, to arbitrary government; and that not only by secret and indirect ways, but in an open and undisguised manner. Those evil counsellors, for the advancing and colouring this with some plausible pretexts, did invent and set on foot the King's dispensing power; by virtue of which they pretend, that, according to law, he can suspend and dispense with the execution of the laws that have been enacted by the authority of the King and parliament for the security and happiness of the subject; and so have rendered those laws of no effect: though there is nothing more certain than that as no laws can be made but by the joint concurrence of King and parliament, so likewise laws so enacted, which secure the public peace and safety of the nation, and the lives and liberties of every subject in it, cannot be repealed or suspended but by the same authority. For though the King may pardon the punishment that a transgressor has incurred, and to which he is condemned, as in cases of treason or felony; yet it cannot be with any colour of reason inferred from thence, that the King can entirely sus-

pend the execution of those laws relating to treason or felony, unless it is pretended that he is clothed with a despotic and arbitrary power, and that the lives, liberties, honours, and estates of the subjects depend wholly on his good will and pleasure, and are entirely subject to him; which must infallibly follow on the King's having a power to suspend the execution of laws, and to dispense with them. Those evil counsellors, in order to the giving some credit to this strange and execrable maxim, have so conducted the matter that they have obtained a sentence from the judges, declaring that this dispensing power is a right belonging to the crown; as if it were in the power of the twelve judges to offer up the laws, rights, and liberties of the whole nation to the King, to be disposed of by him arbitrarily, and at his pleasure, and expressly contrary to laws enacted for the security of the subjects. In order to the obtaining this judgment, these evil counsellors did beforehand examine secretly the opinion of the judges, and procured such of them as could not in conscience concur in so pernicious a sentence to be turned out, and others to be substituted in their room, till, by the changes which were made in the courts of judicature, they at last obtained that judgment. And they have raised some to those trusts who make open profession of the Popish religion, though these are by law rendered incapable of all such employments. It is also manifest and notorious that, as his Majesty was, upon his coming to the crown, received and acknowledged by all the subjects of England, Scotland, and Ireland, as their king, without the least opposition, though he made then open profession of the Popish religion, so he did then promise and solemnly swear at his coronation, that he would maintain his subjects in the free enjoyment of their laws, rights, and liberties; and, in particular, that he would maintain the Church of England as it was established by law. It is likewise certain, that there have been, at divers and sundry times, several laws enacted for the preservation of those rights and liberties, and of the protestant religion; and, among other securities, it has been enacted, that all persons whatsoever that are advanced to any ecclesiastical dignity, or to bear office in either university, as likewise all others that should be put in any employment, civil or military, should declare that they were not Papists but were of the protestant religion, and that by their taking of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the test; yet these evil counsellors have, in effect, annulled and abolished all these laws both with relation to ecclesiastical and civil employments. In order to ecclesiastical dignities and offices they have, not only without any colour of law, but against most express laws to the contrary, set up a commission of a certain number of persons, to whom they have committed the cognizance and direction of all ecclesiastical matters; in the which commission there has been, and still is, one of his Majesty's ministers of state who makes now public profession of the Popish religion; and who, at the time of his first professing it, declared that for a great while before he had believed that to be the only true religion. By all this, the deplorable state to which the Protestant religion is reduced is apparent, since the affairs of the Church of England are now put into the hands of persons who have accepted of a commission that is manifestly illegal, and who have executed it contrary to all law; and that now one of their chief members has abjured the Protestant religion and declared himself a Papist; by which he is become incapable of holding any public employment. The said commissioners have hitherto given such proof of their submission to the directions given them, that there is no reason to doubt but that they will still continue to promote all such designs as will be most agreeable to them. And those evil counsellors take care to raise none to ecclesiastical dignities but persons that have no zeal for the Protestant religion, and that now hide their unconcernedness for it under the specious pretence of moderation. The said commissioners have suspended the Bishop of London, only because he refused to obey an order that was sent him to suspend a worthy divine, without so much as citing him before him to make his own defence, or observing the common forms of process. They have turned out a president chosen by the fellows of Magdalen College, and afterwards all the fellows of that college, without so much as citing them before any court that could take legal cognizance of that affair, or obtaining any sentence against them by a competent judge; and the only reason that was given for turning them out was their refusing to choose for their president a person that was recommended to them by the instigation of those evil counsellors, though the right of a free election belonged undoubtedly to them; but they were turned out of their freeholds contrary to law, and to that express provision in Magna Charta, that 'no man

shall lose life or goods but by the law of the land ;' and now these evil counsellors have put the said college wholly into the hands of the Papists, though, as is above said, they are incapable of all such employments, both by the law of the land and the statutes of the college. These commissioners have also cited before them all the chancellors and archdeacons of England, requiring them to certify to them the names of all such clergymen as have read the King's declaration for liberty of conscience, and of such as have not read it, without considering that the reading of it was not enjoined the clergy by the bishops, who are their ordinaries. The illegality and incompetency of the said court of the ecclesiastical commissioners was so notoriously known, and it did so evidently appear that it tended to the subversion of the Protestant religion, that the most Reverend Father in God, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of England, seeing that it was raised for no other end but to oppress such persons who were of eminent virtue, learning, and piety, refused to sit or to concur in it. And, though there are many express laws against all churches or chapels for the exercise of the Popish religion; and also against all monasteries and convents, and more particularly against the order of the Jesuits; yet these evil counsellors have procured orders for the building of several churches and chapels for the exercise of that religion: they have also procured divers monasteries to be erected; and, in contempt of the law, they have not only set up several colleges of Jesuits, in divers places, for corrupting of the youth, but have raised up one of the order to be a privy counsellor and a minister of state;—by all which they do evidently show that they are restrained by no rule or law whatsoever; but that they have subjected the honours and estates of the subjects, and the established religion, to a despotic power, and to arbitrary government; in all which they are served and seconded by those ecclesiastical commissioners. They have also followed the same methods with relation to civil affairs; for they have procured orders to examine all lords-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and also all others that were in any public employment, if they would concur with the king in the repeal of the test and the penal laws: and all such whose consciences did not suffer them to comply with their designs were turned out, and others were put in their places who, they believed, would be more compliant to them in their designs of defeating the intent and execution of those laws which had been made with so much care and caution for the security of the Protestant religion; and in many of these places they have put professed Papists, though the law has disabled them, and warranted the subjects not to have any regard to their orders. They have also invaded the privileges and seized on the charters of most of those towns that have a right to be represented by their burghesses in parliament, and have secured surrenders to be made of them; by which the magistrates in them have delivered up all their rights and privileges to be disposed of at the pleasure of those evil counsellors; who have thereupon placed new magistrates in those towns, such as they can most entirely confide in; and in many of them they have put Popish magistrates, notwithstanding the incapacities under which the law has put them. And whereas no nation whatsoever can subsist without the administration of good and impartial justice, upon which men's lives, liberties, honours, and estates do depend; those evil counsellors have subjected these to an arbitrary and despotic power in the most important affairs; they have studied to discover beforehand the opinions of the judges, and have turned out such as they found would not conform themselves to their intentions, and have put others in their places of whom they were more assured, without having regard to their abilities; and they have not stuck to raise even professed Papists to the courts of judicature, notwithstanding their incapacity by law, and that no regard is due to any sentences flowing from them. They have carried this so far as to deprive such judges, who, in the common administration of justice, show that they were governed by their consciences, and not by the directions which the others gave them; by which it is apparent, that they design to render themselves the absolute masters of the lives, honours, and estates of the subjects, of what rank or dignity soever they may be; and that without having any regard either to the equity of the cause, or to the consciences of the judges, whom they will have to submit in all things to their own will and pleasure: hoping by such ways to intimidate those other judges who are yet in employment, as also such others as they shall think fit to put in the rooms of those whom they have turned out, and to make them see what they must look for if they should at any time act in the least contrary to their good liking; and that no failings of that kind are pardoned in any persons

whatsoever. A great deal of blood has been shed in many places of the kingdom by judges governed by those evil counsellors against all the rules and forms of law, without so much as suffering the persons that were accused to plead in their own defence. They have also, by putting the administration of justice in the hands of Papists, brought all the matters of civil justice into great uncertainties, with how much exactness and justice soever that these sentences may have been given : for, since the laws of the land do not only exclude Papists from all places of judicature, but have put them under an incapacity, none are bound to acknowledge or obey their judgment, and all sentences given by them are null and void of themselves : so that all persons who have been cast in trials before such Popish judges may justly look on their pretended sentences as having no more force than the sentences of any private and unauthorised persons whatsoever,—so deplorable is the case of the subjects, who are obliged to answer to such judges, that must in all things stick to the rules which are set them by those evil counsellors ; who, as they raised them up to those employments, so can turn them out of them at pleasure, and who can never be esteemed lawful judges ; so that all their sentences are, in the construction of the law, of no force and efficacy. They have likewise disposed of all military employments in the same manner ; for though the laws have not only excluded Papists from all such employments, but have in particular provided that they should be disarmed ; yet they, in contempt of those laws, have not only armed the Papists, but have likewise raised them up to the greatest military trusts both by sea and land ; and that strangers as well as natives, and Irish as well as English : that so, by these means, they having rendered themselves masters both of these affairs of the church, of the government of the nation, and of the course of justice, and subjected them all to a despotic and arbitrary power, they might be in a capacity to maintain and execute their wicked designs by the assistance of the army, and thereby to enslave the nation. The dismal effects of this subversion of the established religion, laws, and liberties in England appear more evidently to us by what we see done in Ireland, where the whole government is put in the hands of Papists, and where all the Protestant inhabitants are under the daily fears of what may be justly apprehended from the arbitrary power which is set up there, which has made great numbers of them leave that kingdom and abandon their estates in it ; remembering well that cruel and bloody massacre which fell out in that island in the year 1641. Those evil counsellors have also prevailed with the King to declare in Scotland that he is clothed with absolute power, and that all the subjects are bound to obey him without reserve ; upon which he has assumed an arbitrary power, both over the religion and laws of that kingdom ;—from all which it is apparent what is to be looked for in England as soon as matters are duly prepared for it. Those great and insufferable oppressions, and the open contempt of all law, together with the apprehensions of the sad consequences that must certainly follow upon it, have put the subjects under great and just fears, and have made them look after such lawful remedies as are allowed of in all nations ; yet all has been without effect. And those evil counsellors have endeavoured to make all men to apprehend the loss of their lives, liberties, honours, and estates, if they should go about to preserve themselves from this oppression by petitions, representations, or other means authorised by law. Thus did they proceed with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other bishops ; who, having offered a most humble petition to the King, in terms full of respect, and not exceeding the number limited by law (in which they set forth, in short, the reasons for which they could not obey that order, which, by the instigation of those evil counsellors, was sent them, requiring them to appoint their clergy to read in their churches the declaration for liberty of conscience), were sent to prison, and afterwards brought to a trial, as if they had been guilty of some enormous crime. They were not only obliged to defend themselves in that pursuit, but to appear before professed Papists, who had not taken the test, and, by consequence, were men whose interest led them to condemn them ; and the judges that gave their opinions in their favours were thereupon turned out. And yet it cannot be pretended that any kings, how great soever their power has been, and how arbitrary and despotic soever they have been in the exercise of it, have ever reckoned it a crime for their subjects to come in all submission and respect, and in a due number, not exceeding the limits of the law, and represent to them the reasons that made it impossible for them to obey their orders. Those evil counsellors have also treated a peer of the realm as a criminal, only because he said that the subjects were not bound to obey the orders of a Popish justice of peace ;

though it is evident that they, being by law rendered incapable of all such trust, no regard is due to their orders; this being the security which the people have by the law for their lives, liberties, honours, and estates, that they are not to be subjected to the arbitrary proceedings of Papists, that are, contrary to law, put into any employments, civil or military. Both we ourselves and our dearest and most entirely beloved consort, the Princess, have endeavoured to signify, in terms full of respect to the King, the just and deep regret which all these proceedings have given us, and, in compliance with his Majesty's desires, signified to us, we declared, both by word of mouth to his envoy, and in writing, what our thoughts were touching the repealing of the test and penal laws; which we did in such a manner, that we hoped we had proposed an expedient by which the peace of those kingdoms, and a happy agreement among the subjects of all persuasions, might have been settled; but those evil counsellors have put such ill constructions on those our good intentions, that they have endeavoured to alienate the King more and more from us, as if we had designed to disturb the happiness and quiet of the kingdom. The last and great remedy for all these evils is the calling of a parliament, for securing the nation against the evil practices of those wicked counsellors; but this could not be yet compassed, nor can it be easily brought about: for those men, apprehending that, a lawful parliament being once assembled, they would be brought to an account for all their open violations of law, and for their plots and conspiracies against the Protestant religion and the lives and liberties of the subjects, they have endeavoured, under the specious pretence of liberty of conscience, first to sow dissensions amongst Protestants, between those of the Church of England and the dissenters, the design being laid to engage Protestants, that are all equally concerned to preserve themselves from Popish oppression, into mutual quarrellings, that so, by these, some advantages might be given to them to bring about their designs; and that, both in the election of members of parliament, and afterwards in the parliament itself; for they see well that, if all Protestants could enter into a mutual good understanding one with another, and concur together in the preserving of their religion, it would not be possible for them to compass their wicked ends. They have also required all the persons in the several counties of England, that either were in any employment, or were in any considerable esteem, to declare beforehand that they would concur in the repeal of the test and penal laws, and that they would give their voices in the elections to parliament only for such as would concur in it. Such as would not then pre-engage themselves were turned out of all employments; and others, who entered into those engagements, were put in their places, many of them being Papists. And, contrary to the charters and privileges of those boroughs that have a right to send burgesses to parliament, they have ordered such regulations to be made as they thought fit and necessary for assuring themselves of all the members that are to be chosen by those corporations; and by this means they hope to avoid that punishment which they have deserved; though it is apparent that all acts made by Popish magistrates are null and void of themselves, so that no parliament can be lawful for which the elections and returns are made by popish sheriffs and mayors of towns; and, therefore, as long as the authority and magistracy is in such hands, it is not possible to have any lawful parliament. And though, according to the constitution of the English government, and immemorial custom, all elections of parliament men ought to be made with an entire liberty, without any sort of force, or the requiring the electors to choose such persons as shall be named to them, and the persons thus freely elected ought to give their opinions freely upon all matters that are brought before them, having the good of the nation ever before their eyes, and following in all things the dictates of their conscience; and now the people of England cannot expect a remedy from a free parliament legally called and chosen; but they may, perhaps, see one called, in which all elections will be carried on by fraud or force, and which will be composed of such persons of whom those evil counsellors hold themselves well assured, in which all things will be carried on according to their direction and interest, without any regard to the good or happiness of the nation; which may appear evidently from this, that the same persons tried the members of the last parliament, to gain them to consent to the repeal of the test and penal laws, and procured that parliament to be dissolved, when they found that they could not, neither by promises nor threatenings, prevail with the members to comply with their wicked designs. But, to crown all, there are great and violent presumptions, inducing us to believe that those evil counsellors, in order to the carrying on of their ill designs, and to the gaining to themselves the more

time for the effecting of them, for the encouraging of their compliances, and for the discouraging of all good subjects, have published that the Queen hath brought forth a son; though there hath appeared, both during the Queen's pretended bigness, and in the manner in which the birth was managed, so many just and visible grounds of suspicion, that not only we ourselves, but all the good subjects of these kingdoms, do vehemently suspect that the pretended Prince of Wales was not born by the Queen. And it is notoriously known to all the world that many both doubted of the Queen's bigness, and of the birth of the child; and yet there was not any one thing done to satisfy them or put an end to their doubts. And, since our dearest and most entirely beloved consort, the Princess, and likewise ourselves, have so great interest in this matter, and such a right, as all the world knows, to the succession to the crown; since also the English did, in the year 1673, when the States General of the United Provinces were invaded in a most unjust war, use their utmost endeavours to put an end to that war, and that in opposition to those who were then in the government; and by their so doing, they run the hazard of losing both the favour of the court and their employments; and, since the English nation has ever testified a most particular affection and esteem both to our dearest consort, the Princess, and to ourselves, we cannot excuse ourselves from espousing their interests in a matter of such high consequence, and from contributing all that lies in us for the maintaining both of the Protestant religion, and of the laws and liberties of those kingdoms, and for the securing to them the continual enjoyment of all their just rights; to the doing of which we are most earnestly solicited by a great many lords, both spiritual and temporal, and by many gentlemen and other subjects of all ranks. Therefore it is that we have thought fit to go over to England, and to carry over with us a force sufficient, by the blessing of God, to defend us from the violence of those evil counsellors; and we, being desirous that our intention in this may be rightly understood, have for this end prepared this declaration, in which we have hitherto given a true account of the reasons inducing us to it; so we now think fit to declare, that this our expedition is intended for no other design but to have a free and lawful parliament assembled as soon as possible; and that in order to this, all the late charters by which the elections of burgesses are limited, contrary to the ancient custom, shall be considered as null and of no force; and likewise all magistrates who have been unjustly turned out, shall forthwith resume their former employments; as well as all the boroughs of England shall return again to their ancient prescriptions and charters; and, more particularly, that the ancient charter of the great and famous city of London shall again be in force; and that the writs for the members of parliament shall be addressed to the proper officers, according to law and custom; that also none be suffered to choose or to be chosen members of parliament but such as are qualified by law; and that the members of parliament, being thus lawfully chosen, they shall meet and sit in full freedom, that so the two houses may concur in the preparing of such laws as they, upon full and free debate, shall judge necessary and convenient, both for the confirming and executing the law concerning the test, and such other laws as are necessary for the security and maintenance of the Protestant religion; as likewise for making such laws as may establish a good agreement between the Church of England and all Protestant dissenters; as also for the covering and securing of all such who would live peaceably under the government, as becomes good subjects, from all persecution upon the account of their religion, even Papists themselves not excepted; and for the doing of all other things which the two houses of parliament shall find necessary for the peace, honour, and safety of the nation, so that they may bear no more danger of the nation's falling at any time hereafter under arbitrary government. To this parliament we will also refer the enquiry into the birth of the pretended Prince of Wales, and of all things relating to it, and to the rights of succession. And we, for our part, will concur in every thing that may procure the peace and happiness of the nation, which a free and lawful parliament shall determine; since we have nothing before our eyes, in this our undertaking, but the preservation of the Protestant religion, the covering of all men from persecution for their consciences, and the securing to the whole nation the free enjoyment of their laws, rights, and liberties, under a just and legal government. This is the design that we have proposed to ourselves in appearing upon this occasion in arms; in the conduct of which we will keep the forces under our command under all strictness of martial discipline, and take a special care that the people of the coun-

trips through which we must march shall not suffer by their means; and, as seen as the state of the nation will admit of it, we promise that we will send back all those foreign troops we have brought along with us. We do, therefore, hope that all people will judge rightly of us, and approve of these our proceedings: but we chiefly rely on the blessing of God for the success of this our undertaking, in which we place our whole and only confidence. We do, in the last place, invite and require all persons whatsoever, all the peers of the realm, both spiritual and temporal, all lords-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, and all gentlemen, citizens, and other commons of all ranks, to come and assist us, in order to the executing of this our design, against all such as shall endeavour to oppose us, so that we may prevent all these miseries which must needs follow upon the nation's being kept under arbitrary government and slavery; and that all the violences and disorders which may have overturned the whole constitution of the English government may be fully redressed in a free and legal parliament. And we do likewise resolve, as soon as the nations are brought to a state of quiet, we will take care that a parliament shall be called in Scotland, for the restoring the ancient constitution of that kingdom; and for bringing the matters of religion to such a settlement that the people may live easy and happy; and for putting an end to all the unjust violences that have been in the course of many years committed there. We will also study to bring the kingdom of Ireland to such a state, that the settlement there may be religiously observed; and that the Protestant and British interest may there be secured. And we will endeavour, by all possible means, to procure such an establishment in all the three kingdoms, that they may all live in a happy union, and correspond together; and that the Protestant religion, and the peace, honour, and happiness of these nations, may be established upon lasting foundations.

Given under our hand and seal, at our court in the Hague, the 10th day of October, in the year 1688.

WILLIAM HENRY, PRINCE OF ORANGE.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE'S ADDITIONAL DECLARATION.

The above declaration was printed, and ready to be sent over to England, together with another to the same effect for Scotland, when his Highness, being informed that King James had taken measures to render it ineffectual, caused the following addition to be made to it:—

AFTER we had prepared and printed this our Declaration, we have understood that the subverters of the religion and laws of these kingdoms, hearing of our preparations to assist the people against them, have begun to retract some of the arbitrary and despotic powers that they had assumed, and to vacate some of their unjust judgments and decrees. The sense of their guilt, and the distrust of their force, have induced them to offer to the city of London some seeming relief from their great oppressions; hoping thereby to quiet the people, and to divert them from demanding a secure re-establishment of their religion and laws, under the shelter of our arms. They do also give out that we intend to conquer and enslave the nation; and therefore it is that we have thought fit to add a few words to our declaration. We are confident that no persons can have such hard thoughts of us as to imagine that we have any other design in this undertaking, than to procure a settlement of the religion, and of the liberties and properties of the subjects, upon so sure a foundation, that there may be no danger of the nation's relapsing into the like miseries at any time hereafter. And as the forces that we have brought along with us are utterly disproportioned to that wicked design of conquering the nation, if we were capable of intending it, so the great number of the principal nobility and gentry, that are men of eminent quality and estates, and persons of known integrity and seal, both for the religion and government of England; many of them being also distinguished for their constant fidelity to the crown, who do both accompany us in this expedition, and have earnestly solicited us to it, will cover us from all such malicious insinuations. For it is not to be imagined that either those who have invited us, or those who are already come to assist us, can join in a wicked attempt of conquest, to make void their own lawful titles to their honours.

estates, and interests. We are also confident that all men see how little weight there is to be laid on all promises and engagements that can be now made; since there has been so little regard had in time past to the most solemn promises. And, as that imperfect redress that is now offered is a plain confession of those violations of the government that we have set forth, so the defectiveness of it is no less apparent: for they lay down nothing which they may not take up at pleasure; and they reserve entire, and not so much as mentioned, their claims and pretences to an arbitrary and despotic power; which has been the root of all their oppression, and of the total subversion of the government. And it is plain that there can be no redress nor remedy offered, but in parliament; by a declaration of the rights of the subjects that have been invaded; and not by any pretended acts of grace, to which the extremity of their affairs has driven them. Therefore it is that we have thought fit to declare, that we will refer all to a free assembly of the nation, in a lawful parliament.

Given under our hand and seal, at our court in the Hague, the 24th of October, in the year 1688.

WILLIAM HENRY, PRINCE OF ORANGE.

N° IV.

RÉCIT DU DÉPART DU ROI JACQUES II. D'ANGLETERRE, ÉCRIT DE SA MAIN, ETC.*

(Mackintosh MSS., from the *Archives Générales de France.*)

Les affaires étant réduites à la dernière extrémité par la défection presque générale de la noblesse et du clergé, par la désertion de la plupart des officiers principaux et autres de l'armée, et par le peu de confiance [que le Roi avoit dans les Protestants qui restoient encore avec lui, Sa Majesté jugea qu'elle n'avoit pas d'autre parti à prendre que de se retirer avec la Reine et le Prince en lieu de sûreté. C'est pourquoi quand il partit de Londres pour Salisbury, pour s'opposer au Prince d'Orange, qui s'avançoit de ce côté-là, il fit transporter le Prince à Portsmouth, où il pourroit être en plus grande sûreté qu'à Londres, et d'où il pourroit être plus facilement transporté en France, que Sa Majesté regardoit comme le lieu unique qui lui pourroit servir d'asile en cas que les affaires continuassent d'aller de mal en pis. Et en effet quelques jours après que le Roi revint à Londres, voyant les choses désespérées et sans remède, Sa Majesté dépêcha ses ordres à Portsmouth, pour faire transporter incessamment le Prince en France, et y fit conduire un yacht pour cela : mais par la mauvaise conduite du comte de Douvre, et les difficultés et scrupules (pour ne rien dire de pire) du Milord de Dartmouth, qui commandoit la flotte, le Prince ne put partir de-là, de sorte que Sa Majesté fut obligée de le faire revenir à Londres, où il arriva le 8 décembre vieux style; et y ayant fait préparer toutes les choses nécessaires pour mettre la Reine et le Prince en lieu de sûreté, après avoir surmonté plusieurs grandes difficultés, Sa Majesté les fit partir fort secrètement le Dimanche au soir 9 Décembre, sous la conduite du Comte de Lauzun, sans les soins duquel, vu les accidents et dangers auxquels ils étoient exposés, la Reine et le Prince auroient couru grand risque à ne pouvoir pas échapper. Le lendemain matin S. Victor revint de Gravesend, où étoit le yacht qui les devoit transporter, et rendit compte au Roi qu'il les avoit vu partir avec un vent favorable. Après leur départ le Roi résolut lui-même de les suivre, ne voyant qu'il y eut aucune sûreté pour Sa Majesté d'y rester, et sachant aussi combien il avoit été fatal au feu Roi son père, et à plusieurs autres de ses prédécesseurs, d'avoir tombé entre les mains de leurs ennemis. C'est pourquoi, ayant auparavant pris les mesures néces-

* This narrative of his flight was presented by James to the nuns of the convent of Chaillot, near Paris, of which his mother, Queen Henrietta, was the foundress.

saïres pour cela avec le Chevalier Hales, Sa Majesté partit secrètement de son palais de Whitehall la nuit de Lundi à Mardi à une heure après minuit, passa la Tamise dans un petit bateau, et étant arrivé de l'autre côté à Foxhall, y trouva les chevaux qui l'attendoient. De-là, n'ayant que deux personnes avec lui, Sa Majesté passa la rivière de Medway à Alisford Bridge; et à deux ou trois milles au-delà trouva un relai de six chevaux avec le Sr. Sheldon, un de ses écuyers, qu'il avoit envoyé devant. Le lendemain, étant Mardi, à dix heures du matin, le Roi arriva à Emley Ferry, où une petite barque devoit être prête pour l'attendre, mais n'y étoit pas encore venue : aussitôt qu'elle arriva, le Roi alla sur son bord, et avec lui le Chevalier Hales et le Sr. Sheldon. Le vent étoit bon, mais un peu fort, de sorte que le maître du vaisseau dit au Roi qu'il n'osoit mettre à la voile qu'il n'eut pris du lest dans son vaisseau. Le Roi y consentit, voyant que sans cela le vaisseau ne pouvoit porter de voiles. On descendit donc à Sheppey, qui est au ouest de Sheerness, et là ils échouèrent à terre, étant presque basse marée, avec intention de partir avec la marée pour le premier port de France qu'ils pourroient atteindre; mais environ les onze heures du soir, lorsque le vaisseau commençoit à flotter, trois bateaux de pêcheurs venus de Feversham, dans lesquels il y avoit 50 à 60 hommes, entrèrent par force dans le vaisseau : leur capitaine, ayant son épée dans une main et le pistolet dans l'autre, sauta d'abord dans le petit cabinet où étoit le Roi, avec les deux gentilshommes qui l'accompagnoient, leur dit qu'ils étoient ses prisonniers, qu'ils étoient des personnes soupçonnées et dangereuses, et qu'il les ameneroit devant le Maire de Feversham pour être examinés. Le Roi, voyant qu'aucun de ceux qui étoient entrés dans le cabinet ne le connoissoient pas, trouva à-propos de ne se pas découvrir, espérant de trouver quelque moyen d'échapper d'entre leurs mains; et pendant que leur capitaine, qui s'appelloit Amis, les examinoit dans le cabinet, le Chevalier Hales prit son temps, lorsque les autres ne prenoient pas garde, de lui mettre dans la main cinquante guinées, et lui dit dans l'oreille qu'il auroit encore cent s'il trouvoit moyen de les tirer d'affaire avant qu'on les amena à Feversham. Le capitaine prit l'argent, et promit de le faire. Cependant il y avoit assez de marée pour mettre le vaisseau à flot, et ils l'amènèrent à l'embouchure de la rivière de Feversham, et y jetèrent ancre en attendant la haute marée pour faire entrer le vaisseau. Le Capitaine Amis les quitta là pour aller, comme il prétendoit, pour trouver le moyen de les laisser évader; mais avant de partir il descendit dans la cabane où étoit le Roi, et lui dit, et à ceux qui étoient avec Sa Majesté, que les gens qu'il y laissoit n'étoient que de la rude populace, et qu'ils les pourroient bien piller dans son absence, et pour cette raison il les avisa de mettre entre ses mains l'argent et autres choses de prix qu'ils auroient, afin qu'ils les leur gardât pour les rendre en cas qu'ils fussent déchargés; sur quoi le Roi et les autres deux gentilshommes lui donnèrent leur argent et leurs montres en présence des témoins, et prirent son reçu : mais le Roi garda trois gros poinçons de diamans qui étoient à la Reine, et la bague qu'il avoit portée à son couronnement, qui étoit un rubis de prix, et les laissa glisser dans ses caleçons, espérant de les conserver par ce moyen. L'avis que le capitaine leur donna se trouva véritable dans la suite; il alla cependant à Feversham, et revint dire au Chevalier Hales qu'il ne les pouvoit pas tirer d'affaire, et qu'il étoit nécessaire qu'ils allassent devant le Maire de Feversham pour être examinés. Il faisoit déjà jour, et l'on avoit reconnu le Chevalier Hales, quoiqu'ils ne connoissoient pas encore le Roi. Le capitaine retourna donc pour faire venir un carrosse pour les amener dans la ville, et pendant son absence les matelots sautèrent dans la cabane, et leur dirent qu'il les falloit fouiller, parce qu'ils avoient raison de croire qu'ils n'avoient pas tout donné : le Roi et les autres deux gentilshommes qui étoient avec lui leur dirent qu'ils avoient donné tout l'argent qu'ils avoient, et qu'ils n'avoient qu'à les fouiller s'ils le vouloient. Ils mirent donc les mains dans leurs poches et les fouillèrent partout, et ce d'autant plus rudement qu'ils ne trouverent rien sur eux : mais un matelot qui fouilloit le Roi manqua de bien près de trouver une bonne prise; car ayant senti autour de son genou l'un des poinçons de diamant, il cria en le serrant dans sa main qu'il avoit trouvé quelque chose; il avoit déjà trouvé dans la poche du Roi ses ciseaux, son étui, et quelques petites clefs; sur quoi Sa M. dit à ce matelot qu'il n'avoit qu'à remettre la main dans sa poche, et qu'il trouveroit que ce qu'il sentoit étoit quelqu'une des choses qu'il y avoit déjà vu, ce que le Roi dit avec tant d'indifférence que le matelot quitta prise, et ayant remis la main dans sa poche crut effectivement que ce qu'il avoit senti étoit quelque chose dans la poche; et ainsi ce diamant fut sauvé avec les autres. Ces gens-là étoient si ignorans, qu'ayant trouvé les boutons de diamant du Roi enveloppés dans un papier dans sa

poche, ils les lui rendirent, disant que c'étoient des boutons de verre. En même temps que tout ceci passoit le carrosse que le capitaine avoit envoyé pour amener le Roi et les deux autres gentilshommes à la ville étoit arrivé au bord de l'eau : ils passèrent du vaisseau à terre dans un petit bateau, et étant montés en carrosse furent gardés par un nommé Edwards et quelque nombre de la populace. On les fit entrer dans une auberge, et le Roi ne fut point reconnu jusques à ce qu'il monta dans une chambre, pour lors quoiqu'il fut assez déguisé, ayant une perruque noire, quelques uns des ceux qui s'y trouvèrent le reconnurent, ce que Sa M. ayant aperçu, il ne fit plus rien pour cacher qui il étoit, sur quoi la populace se dispersa, et le Roi étant informé que le Comte de Winchelsea, et la plus grande partie des gentilshommes de cette province étoient assemblés à Canterburie, il leur envoya dire de le venir trouver. Cependant le Roi dépêcha secrètement le S^r Sheldon pour tâcher de trouver un autre vaisseau, et étant informé que le maître d'une barque qui appartenoit à la douane étoit bonneté homme et fidèle à Sa M., il lui envoya dire de mettre sa barque en état, et de la tenir prête à quelque distance de la ville, et en même temps Sa M. fit préparer secrètement des chevaux pour l'y mener : mais le nommé Edwards, qui commandoit les matelots qui avoient gardés le Roi du vaisseau à la ville, et qui étoit un grand séditieux, en ayant eu quelque soupçon, amassa la populace, et entourra la maison de telle manière qu'il étoit impossible au Roi de pouvoir échaper. En même temps Sa M. eut avis que la populace, qui s'étoit amassée sur les chemins de Londres à Douvres, avoit arrêté plusieurs, tant Protestants que Catholiques, qui se retiroient : entre les Protestants étoient le S^r Genner, un des douze juges d'Angleterre, les S^{rs} Graham, Burton, tous deux gens de la loi ; et entre les Catholiques les deux Evêques Laiborne et Gifford, et plusieurs autres. Vers le soir le Comte de Winchelsea, ayant deux gentilshommes seulement avec lui, vint trouver le Roi ; et pour lors Sa M. alla à la maison du maître de la ville, qui étoit fidèle au Roi et honnête homme. Comme Sa M. sortoit de l'auberge la populace devint fort insolente, de sorte qu'il eut de la peine à passer outre, quoique le Comte de Winchelsea et deux autres aïassent devant pour faire place. Ils en vouloient particulièrement au Chevalier Hales, et avoient peur qu'il ne leur échapa d'entre les mains : comme il s'étoit converti depuis peu à la religion Catholique, leur haine dans toute cette comté étoit excessive contre lui ; et ils démolissoient sa maison et abattoient son parc près de Cantorberie dans ce même temps-là. Mais le chevalier, connoissant bien leur malice contre lui, et craignant que cela eût pu mettre la personne du Roi en quelque danger s'il avoit tâché d'échaper, ne sortoit point, mais demeura dans la maison quand le Roi sortit ; et une partie de la populace y resta pour le garder. Une autre partie accompagna le Roi jusques à la maison du major de la ville, qui étoit honnête homme ; et ils observoient Sa M. de fort près faisant un corps de garde de son antichambre. Le lendemain le Chevalier Basile Dixwell et le Chevalier Jacques Oxendon vinrent à Feversham avec deux compagnies de la milice qu'ils commandoient, sous prétexte de défendre le Roi contre les insultes de la populace ; mais en effet leur dessein étoit d'avoir Sa M. entre leurs mains, et de se faire un mérite auprès du Prince d'Orange de l'avoir empêché d'échaper : et incontinent après leur arrivée ils dépêchèrent au Prince un homme de la loi et de leurs amis, nommé Napleton, pour l'informer qu'ils avoient le Roi entre leurs mains, et pour savoir de lui ce qu'il souhaitoit qu'ils en fissent. Et ces deux gentilshommes étoient si insolents que de trouver à redire que le Roi écrivit à Londres pour avoir de l'argent, des habits, et autres choses dont Sa M. avoit besoin, sans leur montrer la lettre. Cependant les matelots et le reste de la populace gardoient étroitement le Roi par ordre de ces Messieurs ; et quand quelqu'un venoit pour parler à Sa M., ils leur faisoient leurs épées à la porte, et ne les rendoient que lorsqu'ils sortoient de la maison. Cette populace avoit choisie pour être leur capitaine un nommé Hunt, homme brutal et insolent ; le Roi tâcha de persuader à cet homme de le laisser échaper, mais il le refusa insolemment. Cependant plusieurs domestiques de Sa M., ayant appris qu'il étoit détenu à Feversham, le vinrent trouver : plusieurs des officiers fidèles de l'armée y vinrent aussi ; et par ceux-ci Milord Feversham avertit le Roi qu'il le venoit trouver avec un détachement des gardes du corps et des grenadiers à cheval, pour le tirer d'entre les mains de la populace, et lui servir de gardes jusques à Londres, où ses amis souhaitoient qu'il vint. Ceci fit que tous ces séditieux qui étoient auprès du Roi. Le lendemain étant Samedi, . . . Décembre, le Comte de Feversham vint de grand matin avertir Sa M. qu'il avoit laissé les gardes à Sittingbourne ; sur quoi le Roi quitta cette populace et les renvoya chez eux, ayant pris

avec lui les deux compagnies de milice jusqu'au lieu où étoient ses gardes, et puis Sa M. renvoya aussi la milice, et alla ce soir-là à Rochester; et y étant arrivé, il dépêcha tout aussitôt le Comte de Feversham avec une lettre de créance au Prince d'Orange : dans cette lettre le Roi lui dit qu'il seroit bien aise de le voir à Londres le Lundi suivant, pour conférer avec lui des mesures qui seroient estimées les plus propres pour rendre la paix à la nation, et pour mettre fin à toute la confusion et aux désordres qui augmentoient de jour à autre : que Sa M. avoit donné ordres que le Palais de St. Jacques fût préparé pour le loger : et qu'il avoit chargé Milord Feversham d'autres instructions qu'il lui communiqueroit de vive voix. Ce seigneur fut dépêché le même soir avec ordre de revenir le lendemain, et se trouver à Londres à l'heure que Sa M. y arriveroit, pour lui rendre compte de ce qu'il auroit fait. Comme le Roi approchoit de la ville de Londres le lendemain, plusieurs officiers fidèles qui le vinrent rencontrer l'assurèrent que ce bataillon des gardes qui étoit à Whitehall avoit déclaré pour le Prince d'Orange, et qu'ils croyoient que les gardes du corps qui y étoient avoient fait de même, 'de sorte,' disoient-ils au Roi, que votre Majesté ne sera pas en sûreté quand même vous serez à Whitehall.' Ceci obligea le Roi de passer par la ville de Londres afin de se faire accompagner jusques à Whitehall des mêmes gardes du corps et grenadiers à cheval qu'il avoit pour lors avec lui, ce que Sa M. n'auroit pu faire s'il fut allé par eau, comme il eût fait s'il n'avoit eu cet avis de la défection de ses gardes. On ne peut pas s'imaginer les acclamations de joie que tout le peuple fit quand le Roi passa par la ville : tout le monde sortit dans les rues et donna toutes les marques imaginables d'une joie extraordinaire de revoir Sa M.; les mêmes cris de joie continuèrent jusques à ce qu'il arriva à Whitehall, et là il trouva une grande foule de gens de toutes conditions dans tout son appartement, jusque même dans la chambre du lit. Mais le Roi n'y fut pas long-temps sans voir changer la scène; car incontinent après son arrivée Monsieur de Zulisten lui apporta une lettre du Prince d'Orange, dont le contenu étoit qu'il avoit reçu par le Comte de Feversham celle de Sa M., mais que ce qu'elle contenoit, et ce que led. Seigneur lui avoit proposé de sa part, étoient de cette conséquence qu'il n'en pouvoit donner la réponse dans ce temps-là, mais qu'il souhaitoit cependant que Sa M. demeurât à Rochester. Le Roi répondit à M. de Zulisten que s'il avoit reçu ce message avant de partir de Rochester, qu'il y seroit resté; mais comme les choses étoient disposées, qu'il espéroit que le Prince viendrait le lendemain au Palais de St. Jacques, afin que Sa M. pût conférer avec lui des choses que Milord Feversham lui avoit proposé. Monsieur de Zulisten répliqua, qu'il ne croyoit pas que le Prince y viendrait, que toutes les troupes du Roi ne fussent sorties de la ville. Après cela le Roi fit réponse à la lettre du Prince d'Orange et la lui donna; mais M. de Zulisten n'étoit qu'à peine sorti de la chambre de Sa M., quand le Comte de Roy y entra et informa le Roi qu'aussitôt que Milord Feversham eut rendu sa lettre de créance au Prince d'Orange, il le fit prisonnier dans la ville de Windsor, où il étoit pour lors. Sur cet avis le Roi envoya rappeler M. de Zulisten, et lui dit qu'il étoit bien surpris d'apprendre que le Prince avoit fait prisonnier le Comte de Feversham; que c'étoit contre le droit des gens, et violer la foi publique, et contre la pratique de toutes les nations, de faire prisonnier un homme qui étoit envoyé comme ministre public; et qu'il espéroit que le Prince auroit assez de considération pour lui, et pour le droit des gens, de ne pas détenir plus long-temps ce Seigneur. Mais le Prince d'Orange n'eut aucun égard à ce que le Roi lui fit représenter sur ce sujet : il ne daigna pas même de faire aucune réponse à la lettre de Sa M.; et, après cela, ne garda aucune mesure avec lui, et quand il partit de Windsor, il laissa Milord Feversham prisonnier dans le château. Le même soir le Roi fut averti que le Comte de Solmes venoit avec les gardes du Prince d'Orange pour prendre possession de toutes les portes de Whitehall; mais comme le Prince d'Orange n'en avoit donné aucun avis à Sa M., il crut qu'ils venoient plutôt pour faire la garde au Palais de St. Jacques, où l'on attendoit le Prince le lendemain : mais à onze heures du soir, lorsque le Roi alloit se coucher, Milord Craven vint dire à Sa M. que le Comte de Solmes étoit dans le Parc, avec trois bataillons du régiment des gardes du Prince, et quelques cavaliers, et qu'il avoit dit qu'il alloit les placer aux portes de Whitehall. Sur quoi le Roi envoya quérir le Comte de Solmes, et lui dit qu'apparemment il s'étoit trompé, et que ses ordres étoient plutôt de mettre les gardes au Palais de St. Jacques; mais il répondit qu'il avoit ordre positif de les mettre à Whitehall; que ce lieu étoit le premier nommé dans ses ordres, qu'il fit voir en même temps au Roi. Après quoi Sa M. ayant un peu considéré l'affaire, il dit à Milord Craven qu'il pouvoit retirer les gardes et laisser prendre les portes au Comte de Solmes. Les

Milords Halifax, Shrewsbury, et Delamer vinrent avec led. Comte dans le parc, mais ne demandèrent pas de parler au Roi jusques à ce que les troupes du Prince d'Orange fussent maîtres de Witehall. Tout aussitôt que les gardes du Roi se fussent retirés, et que le Comte de Solmes eut pris possession avec les siens de toutes les portes de Witehall, qui étoit une heure après minuit, le Comte de Middleton vint éveiller le Roi, qui étoit au lit et qui dormoit, pour dire à Sa M. que le Marquis d'Halifax, le Comte de Shrewsbury, et Milord Delamer l'avoient fait lever, en lui disant qu'ils avoient un message de la part du Prince d'Orange qu'il falloit communiquer à S. M. immédiatement, et sans aucun délai, et quand il leur représenta qu'il valoit mieux attendre jusques au lendemain matin, que le Roi fut éveillé, ils répondirent qu'il falloit lui parler à l'heure même, et que ce qu'ils avoient à dire n'admettoit aucun délai. Sur quoi le Roi les fit appeler, et étant entrés ils présentèrent à Sa M. un papier signé du Prince d'Orange, qui contenoit en substance, que pour éviter les désordres que la présence de Sa M. pourroit causer dans la ville de Londres, s'il y restoit, qu'il attendoit, ou qu'il vouloit que Sa M. se retirât à Ham, cette même matinée, parcequ'il devoit venir lui-même en ville environ le midi. Ceci fut couché en peu de paroles, mais en termes fort précis et positifs. Le Marquis d'Halifax ajouta que Sa M. pouvoit prendre avec lui tels domestiques qu'il voudroit, mais qu'il falloit qu'il fût parti avant dix heures, et que le Prince d'Orange prendroit soin des gardes qu'il falloit pour le mettre à couvert de tout danger. Le Roi, voyant qu'il n'y avoit point de remède et qu'il étoit absolument entre leurs mains, leur dit qu'il étoit content de sortir de la ville, mais que Ham étoit fort malsain pour y demeurer l'hiver, et que de plus il n'étoit pas meublé : à quoi Halifax répliqua que les officiers du Roi pouvoient le meubler en très peu de temps. Après quelque discours sur ce sujet, le Roi leur dit que, puisqu'il falloit qu'il sortît de la ville, il aimeroit mieux s'éloigner un peu davantage en allant à Rochester, où il y avoit encore quelque peu d'infanterie des troupes de Sa M., dont il pourroit se servir pour gardes, et qui étoit le lieu que le Prince lui avoit marqué pour y demeurer dans la lettre qu'il lui avoit écrite par Zulisten : à quoi ils répondirent qu'il représenteroient l'affaire au prince d'Orange, dont ils feroient savoir les intentions à Sa Majesté à neuf heures du matin, mais qu'il falloit qu'il se mît en état pour partir à ce temps-là. Ils revinrent précisément à l'heure nommée avec la réponse, qui étoit que le Prince consentoit que Sa M. iroit à Rochester, mais qu'il enverroit de ses troupes avec lui pour lui servir de gardes, et ils chargèrent en même temps le Comte de Solmes d'en envoyer. Le Roi avoit déjà donné ordre de tenir prêts ses barges, ses carrosses et ses chevaux, et aussitôt qu'on convint que Rochester seroit le lieu où Sa M. se retireroit, il donna ordre à ses carrosses et ses chevaux de selle, avec les gardes du corps du Prince d'Orange qui devoient accompagner Sa M., de passer par le Pont de Londres pour l'attendre à Gravesend : mais le Marquis d'Halifax s'y opposa avec chaleur, disant que s'ils passaient par la ville de Londres, que cela pourroit causer quelque désordre, et mouvoir de la compassion dans le peuple, et qu'il falloit qu'ils passassent la rivière par le Bac de Lambeth. Le Roi répondit que le vent étoit si grand qu'ils ne pouvoient qu'avec bien de la peine passer dans cet endroit, et que de plus il leur falloit tant de temps pour passer de cette manière par le Bac qu'ils n'arriveroient à Gravesend que long-temps après que Sa M. y descenderoit par eau. Ce seigneur ne se contenta par des raisons que le Roi lui donna, mais insista sur ce qu'il avoit dit avec beaucoup de hauteur, pour ne rien dire de plus. Le Comte de Shrewsbury fut beaucoup plus raisonnable sur ce point, car il avoua que ce que le Roi avoit dit étoit véritable, et consentit à ce que Sa M. demandoit. Ainsi le Roi fit partir ses carrosses et chevaux de selle par la ville, et partit lui-même par eau, ayant pour sa garde un capitaine et cent hommes des gardes du Prince d'Orange, qui étoient dans des petits bateaux devant et derrière la barge où étoit Sa M. ; mais ces gardes turent si long-temps à s'embarquer, qu'une bonne partie de la marée étant passée, le Roi n'arriva à Gravesend qu'à sept heures du soir, et ainsi fut obligé d'y coucher. Le lendemain matin il reçut un passeport en blanc qu'il avoit fait demander au Prince d'Orange pour envoyer un courrier à la Reine, qu'il croyoit déjà débarquée en France avec le Prince de Galles. La nuit que le roi coucha à Gravesend les gardes du Prince d'Orange l'observèrent de fort près, mais quand Sa M. vint à Rochester, ils ne le gardèrent pas si étroitement, ce qui confirma le roi dans l'opinion qu'il avoit que le Prince d'Orange seroit fort aise que Sa Majesté échappât de leurs mains, et que la même personne qui lui avoit porté le passeport pour un courrier, avoit aussi porté des ordres au capitaine des gardes de ne point observer Sa M. de près ; car

ils mirent des sentinelles seulement aux portes qui regardoient la rue, et n'en mirent point à une porte de derrière qui regardoit la rivière. Et quoique Sa Majesté ne doutoit aucunement que le Prince d'Orange ne souhaita dans ce temps-là qu'il se retirât d'entre ses mains, le Roi persista néanmoins dans la résolution qu'il avoit prise de tâcher de passer en France, étant bien persuadé que s'il manquoit cette occasion, le Prince d'Orange se serviroit de quelque autre moyen pour s'en défaire. Le Roi arriva à Rochester le 19. au matin, et y resta jusqu'au 22. au soir; plusieurs officiers de sa maison et de l'armée l'avoient accompagné; comme Milord Avan, Milord Dunbarton, Milord Ailesbury, Milord Lichfield, gentilshommes de sa chambre, comme aussi trois de la chambre du lit, savoir, Fautray, Griffin, et Bidolph; quelques officiers généraux de l'armée, comme les S^{rs} Fenwick et Sackville, maréchaux de camp, le Chevalier Jean Talbot, brigadier, et le S^r Sutherland, maréchal de logis général de la cavalerie; lesquels rendirent leurs commissions au Roi, ce qu'avoient fait plusieurs autres avant que Sa M. partit de Londres, comme Milord Newburgh, Milord Griffin, Milord Lichfield, les S^{rs} Griffin, Fautry, et autres. Le Roi avoit cependant des avis tous les jours qui l'informoient de tout ce qui se passoit à Londres, où le Prince d'Orange avoit convoqué au Palais de S. Jacques les pairs, tant ecclésiastiques que laïques, dont la plupart de ceux qui étoient en ville l'allèrent trouver: l'Archevêque de Cantorberie n'y voulut point aller néanmoins, disant qu'il ne verroit pas le Prince d'Orange pendant que le Roi étoit détenu sous une garde, et n'étoit point en liberté. Le lendemain les susdits pairs s'assemblèrent dans la Chambre des Seigneurs à Westminster, et par ce qui s'y passa le Roi trouva plus de raison que jamais de se retirer. Il est vrai que plusieurs, tant des Evêques que d'autres, qui ne vouloient que du bien à Sa M., tâchèrent de le persuader ou de ne se point retirer de tout, ou au moins de ne point sortir de l'Angleterre, mais de se cacher pour voir ce qui arriveroit; et le S^r Brady, un de ses médecins, le vint trouver de la part de quelques uns de ses amis, avec des raisons par écrit pour lui persuader la même chose. Milord Middleton, qui y étoit présent, étoit du même sentiment; mais le Roi s'étant entretenu avec lui sur cette matière, il avoua enfin qu'il étoit convaincu par les raisons que le Roi lui apporta, qu'il n'y avoit aucune sûreté pour Sa Majesté de rester plus long-temps en Angleterre, et qu'aucun homme de bon sens ne le lui pouvoit conseiller. Après cela le Roi résolut absolument de se retirer au plutôt, mais il ne put exécuter son dessein que le 22.* au soir: Sa M. avoit raison d'appréhender l'assemblée des Seigneurs à Westminster, et déjà on le vint dire que le Prince d'Orange avoit envoyé un ordre au Lord Maire et à la cour d'*Aldermen* de la ville de Londres pour ne point administrer le serment de fidélité et le *test* au commun conseil de la ville, qui devoit être élu le jour de S. Thomas, et pour les autoriser d'agir en qualité de conseillers sans l'avoir prêté.

Cependant le Capitaine Maodonel vint avertir le Roi que le Capitaine Trevañon étoit venu avec sa chaloupe, et que toutes choses étoient prêtes; le Roi l'adessus résolut de partir cette nuit avant minuit, mais Sa M. trouva à propos avant partir, de mettre par écrit une partie des raisons qui l'obligèrent de prendre cette résolution, et de laisser des ordres pour faire public cet écrit après son départ: il étoit conçu en ces termes:—

* Personne ne doit être surpris que j'aie songé à me retirer pour la seconde fois. J'avois raison d'attendre que le Prince d'Orange en useroit un peu mieux qu'il n'a fait après la lettre que je lui avois écrite par Milord Feversham, et les instructions dont j'avois chargé ce seigneur. Mais, au lieu d'une réponse telle que j'avois raison d'espérer, quel traitement ne devois-je attendre de lui après la manière dont il en a usée à mon égard? Il ne s'est pas contenté de faire arrêter ce comte, contre le droit des gens; il a envoyé de ses propres gardes à onze heures du soir pour se saisir de toutes les avenues de Whitehall, sans m'en avoir donné aucun avis. Il m'a envoyé par trois seigneurs (Halifax, Shrewsbury, et Delamer), à une heure après minuit, lorsque j'étois couché, une espèce d'ordre de sortir de mon propre palais le même matin avant midi. Après tout cela, comment pouvois-je croire que j'étois en sûreté pendant que j'étois au pouvoir d'un homme qui non seulement m'avoit traité de la sorte, et s'étoit emparé de mes royaumes sans que je lui en avois donné aucune occasion, mais qui de plus, dans sa première déclaration, m'avoit chargée tout ce que la malice peut inventer de plus noir dans l'article qui parle

* 1er Janvier ancien style françois.

de la naissance de mon fils ? Je m'en rapporte non seulement à tous ceux qui me connoissent, mais à lui-même, si, en leur conscience, ou eux ou lui me peuvent soupçonner d'une supposition si détestable, ou d'avoir si peu de sens commun que de me laisser surprendre dans une affaire de cette nature. Que pouvois-je donc attendre d'un homme qui a tâché par toutes sortes d'artifice de me faire passer dans l'esprit de mon peuple et de tout le monde pour le plus méchant de tous les hommes ?—et on ne voit que trop par la défection générale de mes armées et de toute la nation quels effets cela a déjà produit. Comme je ne suis pas sujet à personne, il m'est naturel, comme à tous les hommes, de tâcher de me tenir dans un état de liberté ; et quoique j'aie plusieurs fois librement exposé ma vie pour le bien et l'honneur de mon pays, et que je sois encore prêt de faire la même chose (n'étant pas encore si âgé que je n'espère encore délivrer l'Angleterre de l'esclavage sous laquelle elle est prête à tomber), je ne crois pas néanmoins qu'il soit à-propos de m'exposer d'être mis en prison, en sorte que je n'aie pas la liberté d'exécuter ce dessein. C'est pourquoi je me retire, mais de telle manière que je serai fort proche, pour être prêt à revenir lorsque la nation ouvrira ses yeux pour reconnoître combien elle a été trompée sous les spécieux prétextes de religion et de liberté. J'espère que Dieu de son infinie miséricorde touchera le cœur de ces peuples, les fera voir en quel pitoyable état ils se trouvent, et les disposera si bien qu'on puisse convoquer un parlement légitime, que là, entre autres choses nécessaires, ils consentiront à une liberté de conscience pour tous les Protestants Nonconformistes, et qu'on y aura assez d'égard à ceux de ma religion que de leur accorder de pouvoir vivre sans être inquiétés et paisiblement, comme de bons Anglois et de bons Chrétiens doivent vivre ; sans être obligés de se transplanter hors de leur patrie, ce qui les affligeroit d'autant qu'ils l'aiment véritablement. Et j'en appelle à tous les gens de bon sens, et qui ont fait quelque attention sur nos affaires, s'il y a rien qui puisse tant contribuer à rendre l'Angleterre florissante que la liberté de conscience : c'est pourquoi quelques uns de nos voisins appréhendent si fort qu'on l'accorde.

'Je pourrais ajouter plusieurs choses pour appuyer tout ce que j'ai dit, mais ce n'est pas ici le temps.'

Le Roi fit voir cet écrit à Milord Middleton après le souper, et le chargea de le faire imprimer quand il seroit à Londres ; mais Sa M. ne le laissa pas avec lui, mais avec Milord Dunbarton, qui étoit gentilhomme de sa chambre de garde, pour être par lui rendu à Milord Middleton le lendemain, le Roi ne trouvant pas à-propos que l'on sût qu'il avoit communiqué à ce seigneur son intention de se retirer : le Roi le dit à Milord Litchfield qu'il connoissoit pour homme d'honneur, et qui avoit demeuré ferme dans sa fidélité dans toutes les occasions. Sa M. fut obligé de communiquer aussi son dessein à Milord Alisbury, pour le tenir plus secret ; car, comme il étoit un des gentilshommes de la chambre et qu'il y vouloit coucher cette même nuit, ses valets auroient été dans la chambre par laquelle Sa M. devoit passer, si elle n'avoit prévenu cela en parlant à ce seigneur. Le Roi donc, ayant pris les mesures nécessaires, alla se coucher à son heure ordinaire, et quand la compagnie étoit retirée il se releva tout aussitôt, et s'étant habillé, sortit par un escalier de derrière, et passa par le jardin, où il trouva le Capitaine Macdonel, qui l'emmena à l'endroit où le Capitaine Trevanion l'attendoit avec sa chaloupe bien équipée, dans laquelle le Roi entra, et partit environ minuit, n'ayant avec lui que le Duc de Berwick, le S^r Bidolph, et les deux capitaines. Ils ramèrent pour aller à bord d'un bateau de pêcheur, qui avoit ordre de les attendre un peu dehors le fort de Sheerness ; mais le vent contraire étoit si fort qu'il étoit six heures du matin avant qu'ils pussent arriver au Swale, et ayant vent et marée contre eux, il étoit impossible d'arriver à l'endroit où le bateau avoit ordre de les attendre, de sorte qu'ils furent obligés d'aller nécessairement à bord de quelqu'un des vaisseaux qui étoient dans le Swale, pour avoir quelque rafraichissement pour leurs gens, et y rester jusqu'à ce que la marée tourneroit. Le Capitaine Trevanion proposa au Roi d'aller à bord d'un vaisseau Hambourgeois qui y étoit, mais le Roi, ne goûtant pas cette proposition, lui dit qu'il vaudroit peut-être mieux qu'il montât son vaisseau la Henrietta, qui étoit aussi là : le capitaine répondit que, quoiqu'il pouvoit répondre pour la fidélité de ses officiers, il ne le pouvoit pas pour celle de ses matelots ; sur quoi le Roi résolut d'aller à bord de l'Aigle, un brûlot dont le S^r Willford étoit capitaine, que Sa M. connoissoit pour être honnête homme, et qu'il étoit maître de ses matelots, les ayant commandé plusieurs années. Ils montèrent donc sur ce vaisseau, et y demeurèrent jusques à ce qu'il fut grand jour, qu'ils apperçurent

leur vaisseau à l'ancre, et non pas loin d'eux, ayant été obligé de quitter l'endroit où on l'avoit ordonné de rester à cause du mauvais temps qu'il avoit fait. Le Roi monta enfin ce petit vaisseau, quoique le vent fut fort grand, et emmena avec lui la chaloupe et l'équipage; ils attachèrent la chaloupe par une corde à leur vaisseau. Ce fut le Sieur Gardiner, lieutenant, qui en avoit eu soin de ce bateau, et qui l'avoit pourvu d'armes à feu et de grenades, de sorte qu'étant en tout vingt hommes sur bord, ils étoient assez forts pour repousser aucun des petits bâtimens qui rôdoient de ce côté-là, cherchant pour prendre et piller les Catholiques ou autres fidèles serviteurs du Roi qui tâchoient à se sauver. Quand ils furent descendus aussi bas que Buoy du Nore, il souffla si fort qu'ils ne purent descendre plus bas, le vent étant Est-nord-est, et fort grand, de sorte qu'ils furent obligés de mouiller l'ancre sur la côte d'Essex : le vent continua fort violent tout ce jour-là, qui étoit Dimanche, mais il ne le fut pas tant la nuit, de sorte qu'ils descendirent jusqu'au Buoy de Redsand, où ils mouillèrent. Le lendemain, étant Lundi, il fit assez beau temps, et ils mirent à la voile de grand matin, se proposant de passer par le derrière le Sable des Godwins, et non pas de passer par les Dunes ; mais la marée étoit si forte contre eux qu'ils ne purent pas prendre cette route, et ainsi furent obligés de passer par les Dunes, ce qu'ils crurent plus sûr de risquer plutôt d'y mouiller l'ancre. Il étoit fort remarquable que pendant tout ce jour ils ne virent pas un seul vaisseau sous voile, à même qu'ils ne virent que sept bâtimens, tant grands que petits, à l'ancre aux Dunes, où il y a ordinairement grand nombre. Au soir, comme il commençoit à faire noir, ils doublèrent la pointe de Douvres ; il tomba de la neige vers les six heures, le vent étant à l'est. Environ les onze heures il fit clair de lune, et ils découvrirent la haute terre de France environ à deux lieues d'eux ; et s'étant un peu approchés, ils trouvèrent que c'étoit Grisé, qui est entre Calais et Boulogne : ils firent donc voile pour entrer dans la Baye de Boulogne, ne pouvant arriver à Calais, et ayant mouillé devant Ambleteuse, ils trouvèrent un vaisseau de guerre Français dans la rade. Ils allèrent à terre environ les trois heures du matin, Mardi, jour de Noël, vieux style."*

Le Roi d'Angleterre nous a fait l'honneur de nous donner de sa main cet écrit, qui contient son départ d'Angleterre, qu'il a lui-même fait à la très humble prière que nous primes la liberté de lui en faire à son retour d'Irlande au 15. Août, 1689. Sa Majesté, en nous remettant en présence de la Reine au mois de Juillet de l'année suivante, nous fit l'honneur de nous dire qu'il étoit tout à fait chagrin d'avoir été si long-tems à nous le donner, mais que c'étoit le traducteur qui étoit cause de ce retardement et les affaires qu'il avoit eu.

Quelques semaines après nous avoir confié cet écrit, Sa Majesté nous † fit l'honneur de nous dire qu'elle nous avoit voulu donner cette marque de son affection, ne désirant pas que personne le vit, et que nous jugerions bien qu'il y avoit plusieurs choses qui devoient être tenues secrètes et sous le silence ; qu'en les marquant il avoit voulu observer la vérité et ne nous rien celer ; et que ces choses s'étoient faites plutôt par la surprise où il s'étoit trouvé d'un événement si peu attendu ; et que si c'étoit à recommencer il ne les feroit pas ; et que s'il avoit eu même le temps à se reconnoître dans l'étrange accablement et surprise où il s'étoit trouvé, il auroit pris d'autres mesures ; mais que celles de venir en France étoient très justes pour la sureté de sa personne, par rapport à ce qu'il doit à sa religion, à la Reine, au Prince de Galles, et à ses peuples ; c'est ce que Sa Majesté m'a fait l'honneur de me dire.

* En notre François c'est 4 Janvier, 1689.

† Les Dames Religieuses de la Visitation de Chaillat.

N° V.

Récit de la mort du feu Roi d'Angleterre Charles II., écrit très-fidèlement après une conversation que le Roi son frère, Jacques Second, nous fit l'honneur d'avoir avec la communauté, en présence de la Reine son épouse, le 10 Septembre 1692. L'imprimé des sentimens du feu Roy sur notre sainte religion, que le Roy à ce présent a bien voulu copier de sa propre main pour l'attester comme très véritable, donnera encore plus de croyance au détail que nous ferons ici de la mort de ce grand Prince.

Le 10. Septembre 1692, jour de l'anniversaire de la feue Reine notre auguste fondatrice, le Roi d'Angleterre arriva ici sur les 11 heures du matin. Il alla d'abord à l'appartement de la Reine son épouse, qui étoit venue coucher le jour de la Nativité de Notre Dame. Leurs Majestés vièrent ensemble à la grande tribune, où la communauté étoit assemblée; nous y dîmes l'aude des morts en palmodie haute, aux quelles leurs Majestés assistèrent (la veille la Reine avoit été aux trois nocturnes des matines). Monseigneur l'Evêque de Die célébra la messe des morts, un des aumôniers de la Reine l'a dit après, leurs Majestés les entendirent toutes deux, et furent dîner ensuite. Le Roy ordonna après être sorti de table, qu'on fît entrer Monseigneur de Die, et qu'on fît appeler la communauté. Ce prélat, en entrant dans la grande chambre où étoient leurs Majestés, fit trois profondes révérences jusqu'à la terre; le Roi et la Reine étoient venus au-devant de lui jusqu'à la moitié de la chambre : la Reine lui dit qu'elle avoit entendue sa messe le jour de l'Assomption, qu'elle ne l'avoit point fait entrer, parce qu'elle ne fesoit point entrer d'homme; qu'elle avoit été bien fâchée ne l'avoir point vu au parloir, mais qu'elle n'en avoit point eu le tems; qu'elle avoit chargé notre mère de lui dire. Le Roi demande à la Reine si c'étoit à la dernière fête de l'Assomption; sa Majesté répondit que ouy.

Le Roi s'informa en quel endroit du Dauphiné étoit l'évêché de Die. M. l'Evêque répondit que c'étoit entre Ambrun et Gap, c'est où sont les ennemis. Justement, Sire, reprit le prélat. Je suis surpris, ajouta le Roi, qu'un prince Catholique comme Monsieur de Savoye, et des généraux de l'Empereur et du Roi d'Espagne, aient mis un gouverneur Huguenot dans Ambrun, et trois régimens Protestants : mais, que prétendent-ils faire? Car ils ne peuvent pas garder ces villes; si le Roi de France, dit la Reine, ne les a pu défendre, les ennemis le pourront encore moins. Ils ne prétendent, dit le Roi, que ravager le pays; et ne nous rien laisser du tout, ajouta l'Evêque; et se vanter, reprit la Reine, d'être entré en France. Monsieur l'Evêque d'Ambrun a fait des merveilles pendant le siège de sa ville. Il a été autrefois à la guerre, et étoit colonel. Il s'appelle Jenlis, dit le Roi, et est neveu du vieux Jenlis : ce qui est à craindre, dit M. de Die, c'est qu'il y a beaucoup d'Huguenots dans le Dauphiné, et que la ville de Die l'est toute entière. Comment? dit la Reine, n'y a-t-il point dans tous ces faux convertis quelqu'un qui le soit véritablement? Peut-être quarante, répliqua l'Evêque, qui le sont parfaitement : mais qu'est-ce que ce petit nombre dans tout une ville? Elle avoit été autrefois très Catholique, et nous avons, dit-il, quatorze Evêques Catholiques, et tout d'un coup, en un seul jour, toute la ville se fit Huguenots. Il n'y eut que les femmes qui demeurèrent Catholiques près de dix ans; mais enfin elles suivirent l'exemple de leurs maris, quoique mauvais. Die est un des plus anciens évêchés de France. Les murs de la ville ont été bâtis par Jules César; et quand il en parloit, il la nommoit la Ville à Cent Tours, parce qu'il y en a autant autour des murs de la ville. Je m'attends que les ennemis abateront tout. C'est un grand dommage, dit la Reine, de démolir une si grande antiquité. Quand je prêche à nos Huguenots, dit le prélat, je les prie de considérer la suite des évêques qui ont gouverné notre Eglise depuis 1500 ans, qui ont toujours enseigné une même doctrine, et qu'il n'y a que depuis environ un siècle qu'eux-mêmes, sans aucune raison, en ont embrassé une si différente, qui n'est autorisée que par le libertinage. Si ces faux Catholiques se joignent aux troupes de Monsieur de

Savoie, toute la province sera perdue. Ils ont reçu des avis des Huguenots de Genève, qui leur ont mandé de se bien garder de prendre parti dans cette guerre, parce que ce n'en était pas une de religion, mais d'état et de prince à prince, et qu'ils demeuraient toujours fidèles au Roi. Je ne m'attendais pas à un aussi bon conseil, dit la Reine, car Genève est la retraite de tous les renégats. Sa Majesté demanda ensuite si nous avions une maison de notre institut dans Die. Non pas dans la ville épiscopale, répondit le prélat, mais dans Crest, qui est une ville de mon diocèse. Elles ont bien peur, dit la Reine. Une peur épouvantable, reprit Monsieur de Die : elles voulaient sortir, mais le gouverneur les en a empêché, et j'ai écrit par le dernier ordinaire qu'on les laissât sortir. Sa Majesté parut surprise. Des religieuses sorties, dit-elle ; et où iront-elles ? Dans une des leurs maisons à Lyon, dit le prélat, qui assurément les recevrait. La Reine demanda s'il y en avait à Ambrun. Notre mère répondit que oui, qu'ont elles fait quand la ville s'est rendue et pendant le siège. Notre mère dit, que le Marquis de Larray avait mandé à sa belle-sœur religieuse céans, que dans la capitulation il avait mis que leur monastère serait conservé, et qu'il les avait recommandé lui-même à M. de Savoie. Il doit bien connaître l'ordre, répondit la Reine ; si en a plusieurs maisons dans ses états, et c'est même où il a commencé. Si la saison était moins avancée, dit le Roi, il serait à craindre que les ennemis n'allassent plus avant dans le Dauphiné, mais présentement il faut qu'ils s'en retournent devant qu'il soit un mois, et que les neiges commencent à tomber : cela contribuera à persuader les habitants de suivre le conseil des Genevois ; car ce serait un mauvais parti pour eux, de s'être joints aux ennemis, et de les voir sitôt se retirer. Je n'aurais jamais cru, ajouta Monsieur de Die, que les ennemis eussent pu entrer dans le Dauphiné ; ce sont des montagnes escarpées, qu'on ne peut passer que par des défilés. Cinquante hommes peuvent empêcher une armée entière, qui ne peut passer qu'un à un. C'est pourquoi on est si effrayé d'y voir des troupes étrangères : en Flandre on est accoutumé à la guerre, et à déloger. Aujourd'hui on est dans la ville, demain on va dans une autre, et puis on retourne d'où on étoit sorti ; mais en Dauphiné ce n'est pas de même ; on n'y a jamais vu de guerre. Après que Mons^{de Die} eut été un bon quart-d'heure avec leurs Majestés, qui se tenoient toujours debout, la Reine fit une révérence au prélat comme pour le congédier, le Roi lui en fit une aussi ; et s'étant l'un et l'autre recommandés à ses prières, il assura leurs Majestés des vœux continuels qu'il feroit pour la prospérité et la conservation de leurs sacrées personnes, et se retira de la même manière qu'il étoit entré. Une partie de la communauté étoit dans la chambre où étoient le Roi et la Reine ; le reste, qui étoit dans la grande antichambre, entra après que Monsieur de Die fut parti. On se rangea autour de la grande chambre ; le Roi et la Reine étoient assis sur un canapé ; on témoigna au Roi la joie que nous avions de l'honneur que la Reine nous feroit de venir icy, que nous avions pris part à celle de nos Sœurs de la rue S. Antoine, qui avoient eu l'honneur de voir sa Majesté la veille. On compta combien la Reine avoit vu des couvents dans Paris, depuis qu'elle étoit en France, si elle n'avoit pas été dans presque tous. Elle dit qu'elle ne croyoit pas en avoir vu le quart. On les compta, et on en trouva vingt où elle avait été. Une de nos sœurs dit que ce jour n'étoit pas seulement destiné à prier pour les morts, que nous avions offert nos vœux et nos prières pour leurs Majestés : ils en témoignèrent beaucoup de satisfaction, notre mère ajouta, que nous n'avions pas moins de soins de prier pour feu Madame et pour le feu Roi d'Angleterre, depuis que nous avions été assurées que Dieu lui avoit fait la grâce de mourir Catholique. Le Roi dit qu'il en pouvoit répondre, ne l'ayant pas quitté depuis qu'il étoit tombé dans un accident d'apoplexie. Sur cela la Reine fit signe à notre mère de s'asseoir par terre, et d'y faire mettre la communauté.

Après Sa Majesté commença le récit de la mort du feu Roi d'Angleterre, en ces propres termes : —

Ce fut un Lundi, 13. Février 1685, que l'apoplexie le prit. J'allai dans sa chambre aussitôt que j'eus appris qu'il étoit dans cet état ; j'y trouvai la Reine Douairière, le Duc d'York, qui est de présent le Roy, le chancelier, le premier gentilhomme de la chambre : c'étoit un spectacle affreux, qui me surprit d'abord. Le Roi étoit dans une chaise, un fer rouge sur sa teste, les dents qu'on lui tenoit ouvertes à force. Quand j'y eus demeuré quelque tems, la Reine Douairière, qui n'avoit encore rien dit, s'approcha de moi, et me dit, ma sœur, je vous prie de dire au Duc, qu'il sait, comme moi, les sentiments du Roi sur la religion Catholique, de

faire ce qu'il pourra pour profiter de quelques bons moments. Après cela la Reine Douairière retira. La Reine, qui étoit en ce tems la Duchesse d'York, demeura dans la chambre pour parler au Duc : elle dit qu'il se passa plus d'une heure sans que ce Prince jettâ seulement les yeux sur elle, tant il étoit occupé de l'état du Roi son frère : enfin par hazard l'ayant regardé, elle lui fit signe qu'elle avoit quelque chose à lui dire. Il s'approcha, et cette Princesse lui dit ce que la Reine sa belle-sœur l'avoit chargé. Il lui dit, Je le sais, je ne pense qu'à cela.

Le premier médecin jugea que si on ne saignoit promptement le Roi, il mourroit dans peu d'heures, et qu'il pourroit revenir si la saignée étoit faite à l'heure même. (C'est une loi en Angleterre qu'on n'oseroit saigner les Roys sans l'avis des principaux ministres de son conseil.) Le médecin dit qu'il n'ignoroit pas qu'en saignant le Roi, il se mettoit en danger qu'on lui fit perdre la vie, mais qu'il la donneroit volontiers pour sauver celle du Roi : en effet il le saigna lui-même, et n'ayant point de lancette il se servit d'un ganif. Ce remède fut fait si à-propos que le Roi revint de son apoplexie, et on crut même qu'il étoit hors de danger : on le coucha dans son lit ; l'Archevêque de Cantorbery avec ceux de la communion vinrent voir Sa Majesté, et lui demanda s'il ne vouloit pas qu'on lui apportât la communion : le Roi dit qu'il n'étoit pas temps, et qu'il le feroit avertir. Cet Archevêque Protestant fit avec ses assistants des prières pour un malade (qui sont à ce que le Roi nous fit l'honneur de nous dire à-peu près comme celles des Catholiques), étant presque toutes tirées du Psautier, mais choisies en différents psaumes.

Après que les Protestants se furent retirés sans avoir donné leur communion au Roi, qui l'avoit refusé, (le Roi nous dit) qu'il s'étoit approché du lit du Roi son frère, et lui avoit dit, Monsieur, venez de refuser la communion à la Protestante : voulez-vous recevoir celle des Catholiques ? Ah ! dit ce Prince mourant, je donnerois toutes les choses du monde pour avoir un prestre. Je vous en ferai venir un, répondit le Duc. Mais je crains, répondit le Roi, que vous ne vous attiriez bien des affaires. N'importe, dit le Prince, je veux bien tout hasarder en cette occasion.

La difficulté étoit grande d'avoir un prêtre. Ils avoient été tous chassés d'Angleterre ; ceux que la Reine Douairière avoit dans sa maison étoient Portugais, et ceux de la Duchesse d'York Italiens. Le Duc en envoya quérir un qu'on avoit laissé dans le royaume en considération de ce qu'il avoit autrefois sauvé le Roy d'Angleterre, pendant les guerres de Cromwel : c'étoit un homme simple, et il eut été à souhaiter dans une occasion si importante qu'on eût trouvé un sujet plus habile, pour aider ce grand Prince à faire une bonne mort.

Le Roi continuant à nous en faire le récit, dit que le feu Roi son frère vouloit qu'il demeurât seul dans la chambre avec le prêtre, qu'il avoit fait entrer par une porte dérobée qui étoit au côté droit du lit, mais qu'il n'avoit jamais voulu y consentir. Vous n'avez jamais mieux fait, dit la Reine ; puis qu'avec toutes les précautions que vous prîtes, et les témoins qui étoient dans la chambre, on n'a pas laissé de dire tant bien de sottises.

Le Roi continuant son discours, dit, Il resta donc dans la chambre avec moi le chancelier, le premier gentilhomme de la chambre, et le grand chambellan : le Roi se confessa, fit son abjuration, et reçut la sainte communion. J'ai un grand regret, nous dit la Reine, que ce bon prêtre ne dit pas au feu Roi de faire cette action publiquement, et déclarer qu'il mourroit Catholique : cela auroit fait un grand bien pour la religion. Mademoiselle Delamotte dit à la Reine que ce Prince n'auroit peut-être pas refusé de faire cette déclaration, puisqu'il n'hazardoit rien, allant mourir. Quand il n'auroit pas été assuré de mourir, répondit la Reine, je crois qu'il n'auroit pas refusé de la faire, si on lui avoit proposé, et ce bon prêtre apparemment craignoit ; car après qu'il eut administré les sacrements au Roi, il ne revint plus. Une de nos sœurs dit, le prêtre craignoit, et le Duc d'York, qui pouvoit perdre trois royaumes, ne craignoit point.

Une des choses du monde dont j'ai eu plus de peine, reprit la Reine, est, qu'il n'y a point eu de prêtre auprès du feu Roi depuis qu'il eut communiqué jusqu'à sa mort. Celui qui avoit reçu son abjuration s'étoit donc allé cacher, dit Mademoiselle Delamotte. Non pas se cacher, répondit la Reine, mais on ne le vit plus. Il n'y eut que vous, Monsieur, adressant la parole au Roi son mari, qui lui parloit de Dieu ; il faisoit lui-même les actes. On demanda à Sa Majesté si elle n'étoit pas présente quand le Roi mourut. Non, dit-elle, il y avoit même deux jours que je ne l'avois vu. La Reine Douairière alloit seulement savoir de ses nouvelles tous les jours ;

mais elle ne lui parloit point. J'ai entendu dire depuis que le grand nombre de dames qu'elle faisoit entrer avec elle dans la chambre du Roi l'avoit incommodé; elle envoya Milord Duras lui demander pardon de sa part, et le Roi répondit, que c'étoit à lui à le faire. Sa maladie dura depuis le Lundi matin jusqu'au Jeudi 16. Février 1685, qu'il mourut. Il me semble, dit la Reine, adressant la parole au Roi son mari, que vous m'avez dit que les Protestants vinrent encore parler au feu Roi depuis qu'il eut fait son abjuration. Non, dit le Roi, je ne vous l'ai point dit. Rappelez votre mémoire, répond la Reine; je pense que vous me l'avez dit. Je n'ay pas pu vous le dire, répondit le Roi, parceque cela n'est pas arrivé.

On demanda à la Reine si l'enterrement du feu Roi avoit été fait à la Catholique: elle dit que non; que sa conversion n'ayant pas été publique, on n'avoit pas osé rien changer à cette occasion, crainte d'exciter quelques troubles. La Reine ajouta qu'on ne pourroit s'imaginer la présence d'esprit que le Roi avoit eu depuis qu'il étoit revenu de son apoplexie; qu'il envisageoit la mort de sang froid, ayant fait ouvrir les rideaux de son lit et les fenêtres de sa chambre à coucher, pour voir, dit-il, lever le soleil pour la dernière fois. Le jour même de sa mort, et qu'une pendule qu'il avoit dans sa chambre, qui ne se montoit que tous les huit jours, il se souvint que c'étoit celui qu'il falloit le faire pour qu'elle ne fût pas détraquée.

On marqua à leurs Majestés la consolation que nous avions du récit qu'ils nous avoient faits l'honneur de nous faire, et de l'espérance que nous avions du salut du feu Roi.

On vint avertir qu'il y avoit quelques dames de qualité qui demandoient à entrer: leurs Majestés le permirent: il étoit deux heures et demie quand la communauté se retira. A la fin des vespres, Monsieur et Madame vinrent et amenèrent ici pour la première fois Madame la Duchesse de Chartres, leur belle-fille, qui avoit été mariée il y avoit quelques mois. Elle vint à l'assemblée qui se tient après vespres, et après y avoir été un moment, le Roi, la Reine, Monsieur et Madame, Madame de Chartres, et Mademoiselle s'en allèrent.

Le 10. Septembre 1694, le Roi d'Angleterre nous fit l'honneur de venir pour assister au service de la feue Reine sa mère, notre auguste fondatrice, que nous faisons tous les ans à pareil jour, qui est celui de son décès. Sa Majesté arriva séans sur les dix heures et un quart: elle entra seule et alla avec la Reine son épouse, qui étoit ici depuis la veille de la fête de la Nativité de la Sainte Vierge, à une des tribunes qui donne sur le St Sacrement, entendre une messe d'un de leurs aumôniers. A onze heures la communauté se réunit à la grande tribune pour chanter *laudes* des morts, auxquels leurs Majestés assistèrent, et à la messe qui se dit ensuite, après laquelle on chanta le *libera* et le *de profundis*. Toute la cérémonie finit à midi. Le Roi et la Reine allèrent voir une de nos sœurs anciennes qui étoit à l'infirmerie, et y demeurèrent plus d'un gros quart d'heure. Après ils allèrent dîner à l'appartement de la Reine. Leurs Majestés permirent que la communauté eut l'honneur de les voir dîner. La Reine pria notre mère de dire à nos sœurs de n'avoir pas toujours les yeux en terre, mais de les lever. Sa Majesté ajouta que toutes étoient dans un si grand sérieux qu'il sembloit qu'elles étoient à des funérailles. Le discours de leurs Majestés pendant le repas fut de choses indifférentes. Le Roi dit qu'il avoit fait ses dévotions le jour de la Notre Dame aux Jésuites de la maison professe, et avoit dîné à leur réfectoire; que ces bons pères lui avoit fait faire bonne chaire pendant qu'ils en faisoient une fort mauvaise. Après le dîner leurs Majestés entrèrent dans la grande chambre de la Reine, où ils s'assirent sur un canapé, et la communauté à terre. Le Roi dit: il y a de grands troubles en Portugal: on croit que le Roi de Portugal avoit voulu obliger la Reine Douairière d'Angleterre à s'habiller à la Portugaise; que cette princesse y avoit beaucoup de peine, et que toutes les dames de ce royaume avoient prié la Reine de se joindre à la Reine d'Angleterre et à elles pour obtenir que toutes les femmes fussent habillées à la Française; que le Roi n'avoit pu leur refuser leur demande, et qu'à l'heure qu'il étoit on envoyoit des tailleurs de femmes et d'autres ouvriers pour porter les modes de France. On dit que nous étions bien heureuses de n'avoir point à en changer. Et le Roi dit que souvent il pensoit qu'il n'y avoit d'heureuses que les bonnes religieuses. On ajouta que le plus grand bonheur étoit de le connoître et de le goûter au point que nous faisons toutes par la grace de Dieu; que nous n'avions point de désir, et que n'en ayant point rien ne nous pouvoit faire de peine, puisque, selon la sentence si célèbre de St Jean Climaque, le religieux dépouillé de toutes choses est seigneur de tout le

monde. Le Roi fit un portrait fort naturel des occupations des hommes du monde, qui sont gouvernés par leurs propres passions, d'ambitions, d'amour du plaisir, ou de l'avarice, et conclut que ni les uns ni les autres n'étoient contentes, parcequ'ils désiroient toujours plus qu'ils n'avoient. La conversation tomba insensiblement sur le bonheur qu'il y a de souffrir quelque chose pour Dieu. Ce grand prince dit les choses du monde les plus touchantes et les plus belles sur l'obligation que nous avons de porter notre croix après notre Seigneur qui avoit porté la sienne le premier, et qui nous avoit donné l'exemple ; et il ajouta que Jésus-Christ ne nous laissoit pas porter la nôtre tout seul ; qu'il nous aidait à la porter, parcequ'il ne nous envoie jamais plus de travaux que nous ne pouvons souffrir ; que c'étoit en portant notre croix que nous faisons voir l'amour que nous avons pour Dieu. La Reine lui dit, cela servoit semblablement par votre exemple ; car ceux de vos sujets qui sont demeurés en Angleterre en repos, et jouissant de leurs biens, sont regardés comme des sujets rebelles et des lâches, puisqu'ils ne participent point à vos peines ; et qu'au contraire ceux qui vous ont suivi sont estimés comme de bons et fidèles sujets, qui partagent vos malheurs et s'exposent à tout pour vous prouver leur fidélité : nous devons faire le même pour Dieu. Le Roi dit qu'il avoit été la veille à la chasse dans la forêt proche le couvent des Camaldules ; qu'il avoit presque suivi la piste de ces S^{rs} religieux, ayant trouvé de place en place des pierres où étoient écrits des sentences de l'Ecriture ; qu'il s'étoit approché d'un rocher qui étoit fermé d'une porte avec un verrouil et un cadenas, ce qui lui avoit fait croire qu'il n'y avoit personne dedans, et que l'hermite qui y avoit demeuré étoit mort, car le petit jardin, ajouta-t-il, n'étoit point cultivé, mais étoit en friche ; qu'il y avoit vu une croix. On dit qu'on en trouvoit partout, mais que la différence étoit d'y demeurer auprès. Le Roi dit qu'il avoit souvent fait réflexion à ce que les hommes font pour se conserver la santé et une vie temporelle qui ne peut durer que très peu de tems, et le peu qu'on fait pour gagner l'éternité, qui ne doit jamais finir ; car, ajouta le Roi, on se résout à se laisser couper un bras, une jambe, ou à souffrir d'autres opérations pour se conserver la vie, et qu'on ne voudroit rien souffrir pour son salut. Sa Majesté dit que nous devions désirer la mort pour n'être plus en état d'offenser Dieu, parceque tant que nous vivrons nous commettrons tous les jours beaucoup de fautes, et étions en danger de tomber dans de plus grandes. La Reine dit qu'elle croyoit qu'il faisoit s'abandonner à la Providence, et qu'il n'y avoit que les S^{rs} qui devroient désirer la mort. Le Roi reprit que nous devions croire que Dieu tient compte des bonnes intentions qu'on a de le servir, et que si un pécheur qui ne seroit converti que depuis peu étoit surpris par la mort sans avoir fait la pénitence qu'il s'étoit proposé, qu'il faisoit croire que la miséricorde de Dieu lui tiendrait compte de ses bonnes intentions et le sauveroit ; que pour lui il désiroit la mort de tout son cœur. La Reine dit que cette disposition du Roi n'étoit pas nouvelle, qu'il l'avoit depuis long-tems, qu'elle lui avoit fait peur, oraignant que ce ne fut un pressentiment, mais qu'une personne à qui elle en avoit parlé, — l'avoit rassurée, lui ayant donné l'exemple d'une supérieure d'une congrégation qui depuis 40 ans désiroit la mort, et la demandoit à Dieu tous les jours, et que dans une grande maladie qu'elle eut il y a environ 20 ans elle avoit cru mourir ; qu'elle lui diroit avec un transport de joie, J'espère que demain vous ne me retrouverez plus en ce monde, et vous ferez tel ou telles choses qu'elle lui nomma. Le lendemain elle n'étoit pas morte, mais elle se trouva beaucoup mieux, ce qui affligea cette s^{te} fille si sensiblement qu'elle en répandit beaucoup de larmes. Ma sœur là déposée dit que c'étoit la mère Garnier, supérieure des nouvelles Catholiques ; et la Reine dit que c'étoit vrai, et ajouta qu'elle regardoit la conservation de la personne du Roi comme nécessaire à tant de Catholiques, et pouvant servir à la gloire de Dieu. Ce grand Prince prit la parole et lui dit, que c'étoit un manque de foi de penser que s'il étoit mort, Dieu ne prit pas de soin d'elle et de tout ce qui la regardoit : Oui, lui dit-il, Dieu prendroit lui-même soin de vous et de mes enfans ; car qui suis-je ? un homme foible, qui ne peut rien sans lui ; mais il n'a que faire de moi pour exécuter tout ce qu'il veut. Notre mère dit que nous demandions tous les jours la conservation de sa personne sacrée. Et la Reine reprit et lui dit, Monsieur, dans tous les malheurs qui vous sont arrivés, en Irlande et à la Hogue, notre mère me consolait en me disant : Madame, Dieu nous a exaucés en ce qu'il a fait le principal sujet de nos prières ; il nous a conservé le Roi : nous dismes toutes que nous disions à toute heure, *Domine salvum fac regem*, et que nous offrions nos vies pour la conservation de la sienne ; que nous espérions que Sa Majesté conserveroit encore 40 ans le désir de

la mort, comme la bonne mère Garnier ; qu'il nous avoit fait l'honneur de nous donner un livre de la différence des tems et de l'éternité, dont la lecture lui avoit sans doute inspiré ces s^{es} pensées. Il dit qu'il goûtoit fort le livres des s^{es} désirs de la mort fait par le père Lalemant ; que celui de la différence des tems et de l'éternité avoit été mal traduit ; qu'il étoit bien plus beau en Espagnol, qui étoit la langue de l'auteur, mais aussi en Anglois. Nous lui diamas que sa Majesté devoit engager quelque père Jésuite à le bien traduire : il dit qu'il leur en parleroit ; puis il dit qu'il avoit vu la veille un jeune homme Ecossois qui étoit venu prendre congé de lui pour entrer dans la compagnie ; que c'étoit le troisième frère qui s'étoit fait Jésuite ; qu'il n'en restoit plus qu'un dans le monde ; que ces pères avoient fait tout ce qu'ils avoient pu pour le détourner de se faire religieux, parcequ'il étoit des premières maisons d'Ecosse, il pouvoit rendre de grands services à la religion ; mais qu'il avoit persisté à embrasser cet état ; qu'on avoit remarqué que depuis qu'on avoit fait mourir pour la foi plus de cinquante Jésuites, le nombre de ces pères s'étoit augmenté notablement ; et la Reine dit que le Roi avoit appliqué en cette occasion cette belle sentence de Tertulien qui disoit que le sang des martyrs étoit la sèence des Chrétiens. Le Roi conta que dans une exécution qu'on avoit faite en Angleterre de cinq prêtres qui furent pendus, il y avoit une femme de qualité qui avoit pris par dévotion un doigt de chacun de ces s^{es} prêtres pour les garder comme des reliques, et que cinq de ses fils s'étoient faits Jésuites ; qu'il sembloit que pour chaque doigt Dieu lui demandât de lui sacrifier un de ses enfans. Le Roi dit que les Jésuites Anglois étoient presque tous des personnes de la première qualité ; que depuis le règne d'Elizabeth, c'est-à-dire, depuis un siècle, on avoit fait mourir tant de prestres, le nombre des Catholiques n'étoit pas moindre. On demanda au Roi si sa Majesté, dans les voyages qu'elle faisoit à la Trappe, parloit à d'autre qu'à l'Abbé : il dit que le Prieur étoit un homme d'esprit ; qu'il y en avoit encore un dont la charge étoit de recevoir les hôtes, auxquels il parloit encore, et quelques fois même à d'autres religieux. La Reine lui demanda s'il avoit vu une de ces récréations qui ne sont proprement que des conférences ; il dit que non, parcequ'elles ne se tiennent qu'une ou deux fois la semaine, et à certains jours, qui ne s'étoient pas rencontrés pendant qu'il y étoit. La Reine lui dit, Si vous aviez témoigné avoir envie d'en voir une, assurément M^r de la Trappe l'auroit fait faire exprès. On demanda au Roi si Sanctener, dont la conversion avoit surpris tout le monde, étoit mort ; Sa Majesté dit que non ; qu'il marchoit avec des potences pour aller à l'Eglise, et que ses plaies qu'il avoit eues à l'armée s'étoient rouvertes. Comme deux heures sonnèrent quelques unes de nos sœurs se levèrent pour s'en aller. Leurs Majestés demandèrent si c'étoit la lecture, et la Reine dit qu'il en falloit faire quelque belle ; comme Sa Majesté cherchoit sur la table un livre, ma sœur l'assistante s'approcha du Roi et lui dit, Nous supplions très humblement votre Majesté de ne plus parler de la mort à la Reine ; cela ne sert qu'à l'affliger. Le Roi lui dit, Je le fais exprès pour lui accoutumer ; car c'est une chose qui arrivera infailliblement, et il est bon de lui accoutumer en lui en parlant souvent. Ce grand Prince comptoit sur le cours ordinaire de la nature ; car il nous avoit dit dans cette conversation qu'il devoit avoir le 24^e Octobre prochain 60 ans accomplis. On lut devant leurs Majestés un chapitre d'un livre qui traite de la providence, où on explique l'Evangile de la multiplication des pains, dont notre Seigneur rassasia 4000 et ces paroles, *Sustinuit me*, sont appliquées à tous les états différens que nous avons à soutenir. Notre mère, et celles de nos sœurs qui étoient demeurée, témoignèrent à la Reine que ce livre étoit parfaitement beau, et sa Majesté dit qu'elle nous l'envoieroit. Ma sœur l'assistante s'étant approchée de Sa Majesté, lui dit ; Madame, j'ai pris la liberté de supplier le Roi de ne plus parler de la mort à votre Majesté : cela l'attriste. La Reine sourit, et lui dit ; Cela ne me fait plus de peine : il m'y a accoutumée en m'en parlant si souvent ; et de plus, je suis sûre que cela n'avancera pas la mort d'un instant. Leur Majestés descendirent au commencement de vêpres de l'appartement de la Reine, vinrent à la porte du chœur, adorèrent le s^{ac} sacrement, ce qu'ils font toujours en entrant et en sortant de la maison, et nous laissèrent pénétrées des héroïques vertus que nous leur voyons pratiquer, et qui doivent faire l'admiration des siècles.

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